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The Mission of Our Nation

By JAMES F. LOVE, D.D.

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THE MISSION OF OUR NATION

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By

JAMES FRANKLIN LOVE, D.D.

Author of "The Unique Message and Universal Mission of Christianity"

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AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

TO

American Home Missionaries

WHO DESERVE HIGH HONOR AMONG
THOSE WHO HELP TO REALIZE THE
MISSION OF OUR NATION

PREFACE

Has God a distinct purpose in this nation? Has this nation a divine mission? Is it appointed to achieve a high destiny which is both its own illustrious goal and the boon of other nations and peoples? The following pages offer an affirmative answer to these questions.

The whole field of modern missions does not afford a more engaging or important study than that which is thus suggested. There is no larger single aspect of missions than that which this race and nation present. The mission of our nation parallels our mission to the nations.

Modern evangelical scholarship rediscovered a transcendent individualism in the Christian Scriptures. That discovery deepened Christian experience, animated Christianity, and opened up to ordinary men the fountains of inspiration with which the Scriptures are charged but which had for a long time been sealed to them by self-appointed custodians. Approaching the Bible for themselves, men found that it had treasures for them; it ministered to their individual needs; it spoke to them of per-

sonal duties, and disclosed to them new privileges and possibilities. The Bible contains a personal message. A pronounced individualism characterizes the Scriptures.

But in the very glory of our creed, that God's grace, purpose, and providence reach to solitary lives, we are now in danger of blindness to the equally scriptural fact, that God is the God of nations, and so of never seeing that the nation, as well as individuals, has a mission to fulfil.

No man can read the Old Testament, even with casual attention, and fail to see that Jehovah is the God of nations, and that a nation may fill a large place in the scheme of divine providence. God chose one nation for peculiar honor, exceptional favor, and charged it with duties and laid upon it responsibilities which did not belong to others. He used this nation to preserve His laws and to execute His plans for the human race. Through the mouths of prophets He rebuked this nation for its sins; He punished it for its backslidings; He used even hostile nations to chastise His peculiar people.

In view of all the evidences of national responsibility and instances of national warnings, and examples of divine judgment upon a favored nation, it would be the highest statesmanship to discern the

mission of our nation and call its citizenship to the task of fulfilling it. There is not a nobler, more patriotic or more Christian service possible to an American citizen than to call the voters, legislators and executives of the nation to a consistent endeavor to bring it into line with the divine purpose and impel it toward the goal of its divine mission. That would be a true public spirit, a real statesmanship, and a genuine patriotism. Ah! and more, one generation spent in that high endeavor would give our nation the public men, the statesmen it needs, would indeed

> "Give us men to match our mountains,
> Give us men to match our plains;
> Men with empires in their purpose,
> And new eras in their brains."

Holy Writ teaches that righteousness exalteth a nation; that the righteous nation that keeps the truth shall have the gates of divine favor open to it; that God blesses the nation whose God is the Lord, and that nations which forget God shall be turned into hell. In Malachi it is charged that the chosen nation has robbed God, and in Matthew it is declared that the kingdom shall be taken from this nation and given to another which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. The nation to which the divine favor was thus transferred may also for-

feit that favor by failing of the fruits of righteousness.

What better theme, then, could we select for a missionary study than "The Mission of Our Nation"? Such a study may and does involve problems and require powers beyond the ability of the writer, but it cannot be an impertinence for us together, the author and the reader, to seek to learn what we may about this high theme.

It is proper to say that the substance of these pages was given in a course of lectures at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, and that the students and faculty of that institution and other friends who heard them requested their publication. In response to this request the lectures were written out from the somewhat elaborate notes at first prepared and are now sent forth in the interest of home missions, that work by which the evangelical Christians of this land relate themselves in a comprehensive way to *the mission of our nation.*

We have had the plea for the Dark Continent, the claim of the Sunrise Kingdom, of Pagoda Land, and the cry of the Yellow Peril. By all that is in my soul, I would make a plea for the English-speaking white race, the pilot or the pirate of all colored races.

J. F. L.

DALLAS, TEXAS.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Signs of a National Mission . .	13
II.	The Reason for the Mission . .	61
III.	The Nature of the Mission . . .	112
IV.	Perils to the Mission	147
V.	The Realization of the Mission . .	192

I

SIGNS OF A NATIONAL MISSION

He was a true sage who said, "Man's happiness consists in finding out which way God is going and then going with Him." Perhaps Dr. Gunsaulus puts it better, when he says, "True statesmanship consists in finding out which way Almighty God is going, and getting things out of His way." But how shall we find out which way God is going? The answer is, if we know the direction in which He came out of the past we may know the direction in which He is going into the future. His purposes do not change. His course in history is consistent and progressive.

"I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs."

Because of this all history is significant and prophetic. The providential facts of history are the finger boards to the future. What God has done is a prologue to what He will do. His acts indicate His plans. His providences signify His purposes.

I

The Scriptures may be appealed to as evidence. We are accustomed to read the Old Testament Scriptures, not only as history, but as prophecy. We are sure that we find there signs of coming events. Genesis and Deuteronomy, Psalms and Isaiah, Daniel and Malachi are full of promises, portends and happy predictions. Much of what God said to the Jews they interpreted in the light of their hopes for their children; and we are sure that we read in that past record the prophecy of our present blessings. What God did was a sign of what He was going to do; what He said was a pledge of future good. The facts of those ancient times were the premises in the logic of momentous events.

But if such be true of the Old Testament, why is it not true of the New? May we not as confidently rely on the New Testament as did the Jew on the Old Testament? Are not its facts as remarkable? Are they not as significant? God is its Author. Is He not as consistent in His post-advent providences as in His pre-advent providences? Are not His acts as logical and His plans as consistent and reliable in New Testament history as in Old Testament history? Does not His hand

guide the course of Christianity as truly as it guided the course of Judaism?

Let us then seek light on His purposes from the New Testament account of the course He took in the beginning of Christian missionary advance. Thus runs the account: "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia; and when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas. And a vision appeared unto Paul in the night: There was a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And when he had seen the vision, straightway he sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel unto them. Setting sail therefore from Troas, we made a straight course to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is a city of Macedonia, the first of the district, a Roman colony." *

That passage deserves to be pondered by the minister and the missionary. Note the clause, "After

* Acts 16: 4-12.

he had seen the vision immediately we endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them." "Assuredly gathering" means, an expositor has told us, that putting all things together, all the facts, all the circumstances, they concluded that it was God's call to go to Europe. That is the way the minister will sometimes ascertain the will of the Lord. He will have to put all the circumstances together and, finding that they conspire to a certain end, conclude that that end is the will of God for him. Jesus rebuked those who could not read the signs of their times.

Not only did they go to Europe, but going there, had immediate and most glorious evangelistic results—an evidence that the Spirit was with them. It was as if God would set His seal upon the course they had pursued in fulfilment of the divine purpose. The preacher's surest success is in line with the divine leading.

Now, what is the significance of this incident in its relation to our inquiry concerning the mission of our nation? Perhaps some readers will conclude that we have been wandering from our subject and that this is another matter, but we think not. The facts are these: The course in which the tide of evangelization set out of Jerusalem after Pentecost

and from Troas under the fresh and warm touch of the Spirit and the illumination and guidance of those days is significant. The direction in which it moved was the way God was going; for His presence was manifest.

Which way was He going? We have the history of this movement, a history, indeed, the most remarkable of all histories. This inspired record shows that the tide of evangelistic impulse, drawn forward by the advancing Spirit of God upon the world's lost nations, moved from East to West. This course was determined by something more than circumstance. Divine compulsion and purpose were unmistakable. Paul and Barnabas felt bound to go to Europe and not to remain in Asia. The most remarkable constraints are evident when they showed their preference for any other course. God would not have the tide turned out of its providential channel by human preference or partiality.

We read that they were "forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia." The Asia of the passage was of course the Roman Asiatic province of that name. The Spirit is in control here. Foiled in their plans, "they assayed to go into Bithynia," but again the Spirit suffered them not. This, too, was under Roman rule. Why was Paul

not allowed to preach the gospel in these provinces? The narrative answers that question plainly. Because God wanted him to go to Europe. "Providence had cut out his great work in Europe and was impelling him Westward." * There is not in history a more manifest instance of the divine providence and guidance, a more signal act of the Holy Ghost.

God's plan was first to evangelize the white Gentile world; to save our Teutonic forefathers as the most strategic thing to be done; to move toward the coming Anglo-Saxon civilization, and so get His hands on the mightiest national life of the world; to gather resources in the quality of men and the abundance of material means for this world-enterprise. Against his own plans, Paul had been detained in Galatia to preach the gospel to the Galatians † and yet was not allowed to preach it in the neighboring provinces of Asia and Bithynia. There is a hint at an explanation of this, too: Galatia was at the time inhabited chiefly, not by the Jews or other Asiatics, but by Celts and Gauls, races who were to help make up the civilization of the West and to be represented in France and the British Isles.

* Matthew Henry.
† Galatians 4 : 13.

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The place of this vision and departure from Asia to Macedonia in Europe compels attention and adds interest to the incident. History and fable have embalmed it; the names of Achilles, of Homer, of Virgil, and of Alexander, for whom it was called Alexandria Troas, cast a witchery over the whole region round about. The memory of all the stern history and sweet romance of the Plain of Troy and the Hellespont revive at the name of Troas—the place divinely chosen for the vision. "Troas was a very fitting place in which this vision should appear. Of old time and in days of classic fable Troas had been the meeting-place where, as Homer and as Virgil tell, Europe and Asia had met in stern conflict, and where Europe, as represented by Greece, had come off victorious, bringing home the spoils which human nature counted most precious. Europe and Asia again meet at Troas, . . . and Europe again carries off from the same spot spoil more precious far than Grecian poet ever dreamt of; for when Paul had seen the vision, 'straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God called us to preach the gospel unto them.'" * Awakened from the enchantment of his vision, Paul was now willing to go to Europe, and crossing "the narrow stretch of water separating

* *Expositor's Bible:* Acts, pp. 268-69.

the East from the West," * entered upon his work at Philippi.

Lydia was the first convert made on European soil of whose conversion the Spirit has preserved a record. This charming and most interesting woman stands there in the highway of Christian history, a monument to a divine act, a sign of the divine purpose and marking the course God is taking. That little company in Lydia's house, whom she by her example turned to the Saviour, were the first fruits of these twenty centuries of westward-bound evangelism.

When Paul was crossing the Ægean the generals of Claudius were making conquest of Britain, and unwittingly making ready for the gospel in its westward progress. At the time the apostles reached Europe there were rising there little human streams, rivulets of race beginnings. These were presently to meet and, at first, to be called Teutonic, and later to swell into a mighty river of humanity, majestic and irresistible, and to bear the name Anglo-Saxon. The divinely guided stream of evangelism which swept Lydia into the kingdom of God was to flow westward and sweeten this national life in the years to come. This precious gospel flow was setting away from the race which God

* Stifler on *The Acts.*

had cherished since the days of Abraham and, by its junction with Teutonic life, would turn the streams of national destiny out of their course, drawing them into its own channel.

This is significant history. It was plainly by the divine ordering and of deliberate purpose that Christian missions took a westward course. Paul and Timothy wanted to turn back upon Asiatic peoples. Their hearts yearned for the Jews, their kinsmen according to the flesh, but the Spirit suffered them not. Until then the Jews were the chosen race; since then the Anglo-Saxon race has been God's favored people. There lay behind them the whole continent of Asia, with its millions of souls and various civilizations, even then hoary with years, needing the gospel above all things. South of them was Arabia; southeast, Persia; east, China; but they "were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia." In their partiality for the Asiatics they seemed to have tried to circumvent the Spirit, for they still "assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not." The Spirit would shut them up to the one westward course. God was going this way henceforth.

There were in that day, and have been in all the days since, a vastly larger population of colored races than of the white, but the Spirit, in seeking

all nations, seeks the white race first. Beyond Greece and Rome lay the sparsely settled West and the solitary forests of Europe, and toward these and their rude and semi-savage frontiersmen flowed the stream of evangelism. What can it mean? God had a purpose in it, and in the light of what God has said and done, and with our modern knowledge of the world's races, their history and characteristics, we may know what that purpose was. The time has come when we should be seeing the meaning and rightly interpreting this inspired history; when wise men ought to take their bearings and know which way God is going, that they may go with Him.

The stream that set Anglo-Saxonward that day has held its course for two thousand years, sometimes against impediments and obstructions reared by men who cared not which way God was going; and sometimes its course might have been swifter and its benefits to the world greater had those who did care known the meaning of the hour and gotten things out of the way. Surely, this fact which has so vitally affected the whole history of Christianity and the world is worthy of more thought than it has received.

It was not by chance that Paul went into Macedonia. He did not drift there. He did not go

there by preference. His going was in accordance with the divine programme and purpose. He went in obedience to God's call and under His providence. Surely, if there is such a thing as a divine purpose in the world and a special providence over God's people at any time, we may, even without such irrefutable proof, believe they were operative in the case of those who were disseminating that gospel which is the hope of the world. Verily, Jesus was with His own, even as He had promised. Lydia and her household, like the Ephesians, " obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." *

The way early Christianity moved toward and into Europe and the way it has persistently followed the trail of the Anglo-Saxon race is either a sign of the divine purpose or there is no divine providence in Christian history. Such are the alternatives. We believe that the divine providence and purpose were evident. Subsequent Christian history adds many chapters to this marvellous story of providence written in the sixteenth chapter of Acts.

II

So-called secular history bears witness of God's purpose and sheds light on the mission of our na-

* Ephesians 1 : 11.

tion. Men make wars, legislate and contrive diplomatic alliances, but, as Lincoln said, "God has purposes of His own," and "the foolishness of God is wiser than men and the weakness of God is stronger than men." His purpose for this nation antedates its birth and is discernible in the lines of our history. The world has not been without historians who have interpreted many incidents in the history of our race as indicative of a beneficent providence over it. Many of these incidents could not be interpreted otherwise. Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out some of these coincidences in his *Ifs of History,* and while he does not recognize a divine providence, suggests that civilization, both in England and in America, would be very different from what it is had they not occurred. But they are more than coincidences: they are providences and shed light on the divine programme.

The familiar instance of the Moorish and Mohammedan defeat under the great "hammer," Charles Martel, is to the point. Charles may not have been a divine favorite, but God sometimes uses such men as He can get through whom to accomplish His purposes. And He uses this man to wrench England from the fast-closing fists of Islam and preserve the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization for evangelical Christianity. The Arab had

subdued Spain and with his sword carved his way into the very heart of France, and already had gained such advantage as seemed to make certain his capture of the continent. With Europe under subjection, England would fall into his hands, and with England, then America and all Anglo-Saxondom. Defeat was yet beyond human probability, and nothing but divine intervention could have accomplished it. In reality, the issue was between the Crescent and the Cross, and God kept watch above His own and gave victory to the Cross, and the prize to the Anglo-Saxon race. God won the day in line with His missionary purpose and left the race free to fulfil its mission.

There was another exhibition of special providence in the defeat of Roman Catholicism and the triumph of Protestantism in England. Here again, God used some men who were not after His own heart; but His cause must be saved. In the olden time He used Rahab, a wicked woman, and in England He used a wicked man to frustrate the devices of men and Satan. The unchecked supremacy of Roman Catholicism in England would eventually have been a curse to the world and a blight upon the Anglo-Saxon future only a little less horrible than the supremacy of Islam. God would not allow either.

Of another incident Dr. McCosh says: "The winds that sunk the Spanish Armada, which threatened at once Protestant religion and the liberties of England; and, again, the favorable breezes which enabled William of Orange, when these privileges were endangered, to escape the fleet that was ready to seize him, and land in safety on our shores: these are providential occurrences, in which pure minds have ever delighted to discover the hand of God." * When the Spanish fleet was formed, Philip had three hundred and thirty ships and England had twenty-four. The Spanish squadron was called "invincible"; but in calling it so no account was taken of the judgments of God. The winds fought against Philip as the stars had fought against Sisera, and the whole fleet perished. Had Philip succeeded, he was just the man, as Professor Chamberlain has shown, to have stamped out English learning, just then beginning to flower in William Shakespeare, and English Protestantism, just then struggling into life, and to have substituted Spanish and Romish customs and institutions for everything English and Protestant, and, as a sequel, the settlement of America, which the English began forty years later, would have been under

* *The Method of Divine Government,* by James McCosh, pp. 203-4.

Spanish auspices, and Rome would rule our land to-day.

But if the way Christianity was directed to Europe and England and the way it was kept there were providential, the way it was introduced into America was equally so. A hundred things seem to have conspired to give America to the Anglo-Saxon race and make it a stronghold of evangelical religion. Such mighty and significant tides of history could not have converged to one end by chance. Indeed, the determining events of history are never matters of fortuitous occurrence, or there would be no philosophy of history at all.

Why was this continent kept a secret from every nation until its disclosure could serve the needs of Anglo-Saxon civilization and evangelical Christianity? No one can deny that it was so by divine providence. But why was the secret not made known to China and the gates of the continent thrown open to it instead of to Europe? China had invented the mariners' compass, and even then had a congested population, while Europe was sparsely settled. But China's compass could not guide because God's providence did not lead her to the North American continent. God had another programme. He had proposed to circumfuse the globe with His gospel by moving from East to West; had

calculated the needs of the enterprise in human elements and in human resources, and had selected a nation which could furnish these. His winds and tides were against a West to East movement of the human race. God would not deliver up America to any nation who could not help His gospel on toward its universal mission.

Long ago Isaiah said, "Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not; and a nation that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of Jehovah thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee." * There was no Anglo-Saxon nation when Isaiah uttered these words, but that which was not and knew not came to be and was called and ran unto Him, and under His providence in the sixteenth century the way was opening for such a people to become a great nation so they could in a great way take care of the truth.

Jesus said unto the chief priests and elders of Israel, "The Kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." † Until Jesus came the Jews had been God's favored nation. As a nation, the Jews fulfilled a great purpose in the

* Isaiah 55: 5.
† Matthew 21: 43.

divine economy. Through them God had preserved His law and through them delivered to the world its Messiah. But, coming to the consummation of the nation's hope, the people were possessed of a strange delusion. They rejected Him whom the prophets had foretold, the glory of Israel. With this rejection God's favoritism passed to another nation, and over that nation settled a special providence. Israel "refused to work on God's lines. It became a hinderer of Providence, and another curtain falls on priests and scribes fighting against God." * The Jews had delivered to the world the Saviour; another nation must deliver to the world that Saviour's gospel. Just at this time God had in its beginning a nation ready to enter into the divine purpose and plans. Since that hour the Anglo-Saxon race has had over it the divine providence in a most marvellous way.

In the discovery and colonization of America God was opening the way for the Anglo-Saxon people, imbued with the spirit of the evangelical gospel, to become a great nation. The time for the event was itself ordered of God. The discovery of America either sooner or later would not have been so propitious for evangelical Christianity.

* *Man's Partnership with Providence,* by John Tilford, p. 328.

The continent was discovered when human thought was being kindled and human imagination was being inflamed by workers, thinkers and investigators. It was just at the rejuvenescence of art and the birth-hour of modern science.

Most marvellous is the relation of personages, periods and events in the Old World to the beginning of history in the New. As divine Providence began to get things ready for the reformation in Europe He began to point the way to America. Luther was born in 1483, Zwingli and Tyndale in 1484, and America was discovered in 1492, when Michelangelo, seventeen years of age, was taking up his chisel and brush and becoming conscious of his genius, and Raphael was a boy nine years old. John Calvin was born in 1509, seventeen years after America was discovered, and John Knox in 1513 or 1514. America was found in such times as these, but Providence did not favor immediate settlement of North America. To have done so before these great spirits had revolutionized European society would have been to make this a Romish country. The Roman Catholic type would have been established before the Reformation of Germany and England had produced their results, and there would have been no land to which the persecuted Protestant and evangelical Christian could flee and es-

tablish the civil democracy to which their religion impelled them. The people were not prepared for spiritual freedom and the English tongue was not fully ready to become the vehicle of the Truth. In 1517 Luther nailed his theses to the church in Württemberg and in 1521 he met his accusers at Worms. In 1526 Tyndale's Bible was circulated in England, and in 1534 Luther's translation was ready for the reader. Those were mighty days "on ages telling." In 1564 Shakespeare, who was to fix the form and forever give dignity to the English language, was born, and, though he knew it not, was a chief agent of Providence for the extension of Anglo-Saxon power and evangelical religion. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated in 1572, Cromwell was born in 1599, and Jamestown was settled and Protestantism began its career in America in 1607. The Dutch, bringing Calvin's theology, settled New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1609, and the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Thus was America preserved and prepared to serve as a refuge for those who had come into the light of the gospel, and for a field in which the principles of that gospel could be planted and guarded.

Inspired by genius and beauty in art, thrilled by new and mighty thoughts, under impulses and emo-

tions produced by the discovery of great truths of the universe and the greater discoveries of grace, men must have room for action. A continent would be needed for the people who should be most affected by modern learning, who should do most to carry it forth toward its fulfilment and best exemplify its spirit. The Anglo-Saxon race and evangelical religion must have unfettered opportunity to benefit by all these and to find a free and full expression under their inspiration. When the fulness of time had come " a new land arose out of the sea to serve as a bulwark and reserve for the age of reformation."

Signs of special providence there were in both the discovery and the inhabiting of America. All the chances seemed in favor of a Roman Catholic and Spanish America. But this would have deranged the divine programme. Columbus, a devout man, but a Catholic and with ambition to serve Catholicism, was not allowed to land on the Carolina coast when he was almost ready to cast anchor. The very birds of the air became decoys to lead him to the South and away from the Anglo-Saxon reservation. The time was ripening and the day was approaching when God would have use for Virginia and the Carolinas. Conditions were growing intolerable in Europe. A Puritan of the time thus

described conditions on the floor of the House of Commons: "Danger enlarges itself in so great a measure that nothing but Heaven shields us from despair."

The very foundations of the gospel of Jesus and those political principles which lie in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon people were in danger of fatal defeat. But God had reserved an asylum for His faithful witnesses and a field for the transplanting of His truth. The Atlantic coast country must be kept for civil and religious liberty and the evangelical Christianity which begat them. When persecution was raging in Europe, in the Netherlands, in Spain, in England, then the ocean began to whiten with the sails of pilgrim fleets and providential winds bore them to our Atlantic shores; and no decoys turned these refugees of hope out of their course. Then the foundations of the republic were laid in ceremonies of prayer at Jamestown, Plymouth Rock and elsewhere along our Atlantic seaboard.

Spanish and French Catholicism both tried to make America their possession, but failed because the God of nations was not their ally in such an enterprise. In course of time there was in America a "New France" and a "New Spain" and a "Russian America" as well as a "New England."

The parent nations all struggled to maintain their establishment and enlarge their possessions. One succeeded. Why did New France and New Spain disappear and New England survive? Each of these was greatly larger than New England. There is but one answer. A divine Providence favored New England. The success of either of her rivals would have been the success of Roman Catholicism. Spanish civilization to the South and West was thoroughly Romish. When the French settlement to the North and East was in power, it was required that "any one settling in New France must be a Catholic." William Cullen Bryant says of the Spanish: "Fortunately for the progress of the human race and the future history of North America all their efforts to gain a permanent foothold north of the Gulf of Mexico were, in the main, unsuccessful." Of the French to the north, Bishop Galloway says, "The defeat of Montcalm on the heights of Abraham was the pivot on which turned the modern history of the world"; and the historian, W. F. Lord, calls that event "almost miraculous." We have, perhaps, thought that the issue at Quebec was a question of politics and possessions between England and France. The issue in that contest was rather the evangelical religion and its future in the world. The God of battles, Jehovah, whose an-

gels smote Assyrian enemies, was interested in that contest and guided the destiny of the hour. The decision was "almost miraculous" because it was eminently providential.

The defeat of the French, with its tragic contingencies, was followed by the sale and purchase of the Louisiana territory, a thing which of itself, when all the facts are considered, persuades one that Providence was in it. The Louisiana purchase by the United States is due to certain coincidences and concurrence of events more than to American foresight and shrewd bargaining. Well does Mr. Archibald Coolidge speak of it "as one of the most astonishing streaks of good fortune." *

There is room for a fascinating chapter on that transaction. Among the elements which enter into the situation are such as the disheartening of France in her efforts at American colonization; Napoleon's financial embarrassment; his fear of entanglements with England; his just previous and surprising deal with Spain; the adventurous spirit of the Americans who had crossed the Mississippi and the fear of government officials that these would establish a trans-Mississippi Republic; and in conjunction with all these, the fortunate circumstance which placed Jefferson, Livingston and Monroe in

* *The United States as a World-Power.*

a position just at that time where they could, even against popular opinion, and indeed without federal authority, commit the nation to this purchase. All of the parties to the transaction seem to have acted blindly and without the usual deliberation of statesmen and diplomats. Napoleon acted contrary to his counsellors and without the consent of the Chambers. Our representatives acted without the instructions of Congress and in the face of fierce popular opposition. When Jefferson and Monroe began negotiations for the acquirement of certain French possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi River they did not think of making a deal which would double the nation's territory and were surprised and much baffled when all the French possessions were offered them. Jefferson was in a dilemma and he got out of it only by ratifying the agreement, though he did it in the belief that his act was unconstitutional and in spite of the fact that it was contrary to a position formerly announced by himself. He justified the act only on the ground of expediency.

All these things which went before and followed, considered together with subsequent events, thoroughly justify an interpretation which recognizes a divine providence in them. To have failed at this juncture of Anglo-Saxon and federal expansion to the West would have involved such national loss

and defeat as one would not like even to contemplate. The influence of this event was felt in the subsequent issues touching our possession of the Oregon country, California and the later conquest and annexation of Texas. The Louisiana purchase was a decisive step towards Anglo-Saxon supremacy and evangelical conquest of America. For fifteen million dollars Jefferson settled a question of such magnitude for the nation and for religion as perhaps was never settled with so small a money consideration in the history of the world. Mr. Pierre Leroy Beaulieu says in his book, *The United States in the Twentieth Century,* "Jefferson truly founded a Union the second time when he purchased from France that vast territory stretching from the Mississippi to the ill-defined boundary line of the Rocky Mountains." *

The centennial of this purchase was celebrated in St. Louis in 1903. The preparation for that celebration alone cost four times what the whole territory cost and marked an era in which this territory was producing more than one-half of the nation's grain and livestock, and contained its greatest wealth in gold, iron, copper and zinc. Out of that original territory have been carved fourteen states, the annual

* *The United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu, p. xii.

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farm products of single counties in some of which amount to the total of the purchase money paid by Jefferson. We are just fairly on the way to the establishment and development of a civilization in this Western country. It is only beginning to dawn upon us what mighty influence it will give the nation when this great West is thoroughly stocked with a stalwart Americanism charged with the spirit and potentiality of evangelical Christianity, and the rising tide beats hard upon the shores of the far East.

To bring to light the full significance of the Louisiana purchase and to consummate the divine plan, another Western territorial question must be settled. The Oregon country now hung in the balance and the Spirit of the Lord helped to tip that balance in favor of the nation. The Spirit of Christ stirred up a Christian patriotism in the bosoms of some home missionaries. Dr. Whitman and his associates prevented our statesmen from trading the great Oregon country for a miserable cod-fishery. When this diplomatic question was engaging Congress one senator did not think the whole Western country "worth a pinch of snuff," and declared that if instead of the Rocky Mountains as a barrier to westward progress there was but "an embankment of even five feet to be moved I would not consent to

spend five dollars to enable our population to go through." Congress was "so evenly balanced on the Oregon issue" that probably nothing but Whitman's heroic horseback ride of six months and his arrival in Washington at the very nick of time with the information and enthusiasm which he brought to bear on the pending question would have saved our great statesmen, in all their wisdom, from selling all that vast Oregon country now divided into many flourishing states for the privilege of catching cod in the Columbia River. Among these wise statesmen were Webster, John Quincy Adams, Jefferson Davis, John C. Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton and others equally famous. These men could no better read the signs of the times than to be willing to give the Oregon country for such a mess of pottage. Well does a historian of the event say, "It is very rare that coincidences have so combined and adaptations conspired in matters of moment to the State." * Let it be remarked that the coincidences conspired through men who took their lives and duty seriously and prayed and believed in a divine providence and whose call and passion it was to make the American continent Christian after the evangelical pattern.

Another decisive act in maintaining Anglo-Saxon

* *Oregon,* by William Barrows, p. 257.

supremacy in America and making it possible for the nation to fulfil its mission was the passage of the slave law of 1808, arresting the importation of Africans. This was a matter of greater significance than the legislators of that time dreamed. It was, to be sure, a humanitarian measure, but its passage was one of those instances in which men do not know the meaning of their own acts. Congress, in making this law, was voting on the question of Anglo-Saxon supremacy quite as much as on the human rights of the Negro. When the slave import trade was by that act abolished there were in the United States one million Negroes. It is quite probable that if this act had not passed and the slave trade had continued there would have been at least ten millions of Negroes in the South in 1860 instead of four millions; and maintaining the ratio in accordance with which the Negroes have multiplied, there would be at the present time twenty-five millions instead of ten millions of Negroes among us. With such Negro population in 1860 and multiplying naturally, we could never have had such a thing as a Reconstruction era in the South by which Anglo-Saxon supremacy was re-established. In such a case the South, where as Providence has ordered, the Anglo-Saxon is predominant, would today be dominated, if not almost wholly populated

by the blacks. With Negro ascendency established the whites would have moved out of the larger part of the South and left the country to the Negroes as, indeed, they have done in the case of some of the counties in the "black belt." The South had, in 1860, less than 7,000,000 whites. If there had been in the South at that time 10,000,000 Negroes they would, with the support which the mismanaged federal government gave the Negroes during the first ten years following the Civil War, have made conditions intolerable for the white men, and so would have lost to the Anglo-Saxon race that part of the great country where to-day original Anglo-Saxon and American ideals and institutions are preserved and where, according to the religious statistics of the United States Census, evangelical Christianity is accepted by the people as it is not anywhere else in the republic.

Providence reckoned with all these facts in 1808, when the slave law was passed. The Act of Emancipation of the Negro in 1865, but for this prior act of 1808, would have indicated that Providence favored Negro supremacy in the South and the defeat of Anglo-Saxon supremacy in America. But the ways of God are consistent. He would preserve the nation in keeping with His former providences and in doing this render the highest service to the black

man as well as to the white man; for the white man only can give the truth in its purity to all other races. He is God's steward for humanity. Those institutions under which the American Negro finds his greatest blessings would not at present be safe in the hands of any other race of people in the world. These institutions must be administered by the evangelical Anglo-Saxon race or their abuse will turn them into a curse for all races.

III

Not only for the reader of history are there convincing evidences of a divine providence in the beginning and progress of the nation, but the makers of history were deeply persuaded that they were co-operating with Providence. The finders of America and the founders and fathers of the republic had remarkable and unwavering convictions that God was guiding and using them. Columbus, the discoverer, owned himself under the divine providence. He said, "God made me a messenger of the new heavens and the new earth," and so profoundly did he feel this that his last act before leaving the Old World and his first in the New was to worship the God whose messenger he was.

Bancroft says, "Religious enthusiasm colonized New England and religious enthusiasm founded

Montreal, made conquest of the wilderness and upper lakes and explored the Mississippi." James Bryce, in his great work, *The American Commonwealth,* says, "It was religious zeal and religious conscience which led to the founding of New England colonies two centuries ago." That is but another way of saying that these founders of the republic felt that they were doing the will of God and were walking in His providences. The Jamestown colony was chartered for one reason, that it "under the providence of God might tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty in propagating the Christian religion." This deep conviction of a divine providence was in the heart of the people everywhere. John Fiske says that in Virginia "colonial preachers might be heard proclaiming from their pulpits that Virginia was a door which God had opened for England." *

In his captivating account of "Oregon," Barrows gives us this picture of Whitman and Spalding and their little missionary band out in the wilderness of the Oregon country surrounded by treacherous foes: "There spreading their blankets and lifting the American flag, they all kneeled around the Book and with prayer and praise took possession of the western side of the continent for Christ and the

* *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors,* p. 49.

church." * That scene is a challenge to the brush of an artist. A great canvas ought to preserve it, for it embodies the spirit and genius which made conquest of America and established the nation, and indicates how manifestly pregnant was the spirit of evangelical religion in American subjugation and how implicit was the faith of these founders in a superintending Providence. It is significant that the first seal of Massachusetts bore as its motto the Macedonian call which first brought the gospel to the progenitors of our race, " Come over and help us."

The men, who in times of crises have delivered the nation, have been possessed of this same conviction of a divine providence. This, indeed, has steadied them amidst the hazards of war and given them courage in battle. During the distressful times of the Revolution, Congress repeatedly commended religious worship, confession of sins and offering of prayers, and expressed the desire to " have the people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending providence and of their duty to rely in all their lawful enterprises on His aid and protection." George Washington said in his first inaugural address, " No people can be found to acknowledge and adore the

* *Oregon*, p. 134.

invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States; every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been indicated by some token of providential agency." In calmness and courage, the Father of His Country lived under a sense of an overshadowing providence. Grover Cleveland said of him, "His faith in God and the fortitude of his faith taught those with whom he wrought that the surest strength of the nation comes from the support of God's almighty arm." * Benjamin Franklin is reported by James Madison, in his invaluable shorthand report of the Constitutional Convention, as saying, "In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity, and have we now forgotten that better Friend, or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance? I have

* *Good Citizenship*, p. 55.

lived, sir, a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth that God governs in the affairs of men."

It was fitting that when liberty had been secured through such special providence, the jubilee proclamation which the Lord gave Moses was inscribed on Liberty Bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." *

The great thinkers of the nation have recognized this special providence. Emerson was constrained to say, "Our whole history appears like a last effort of divine Providence in behalf of the human race." And that is a discriminating remark. It indicates a recognition of a divine providence and its purpose. Abraham Lincoln, who saw the republic in the rough sea of a fierce national storm, said in his inaugural address, March 16, 1861, "Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance upon Him who has never forsaken this favored land are the best way out of our present difficulties."

The song of one of Israel's bards might well be adopted as our national anthem. The one hundred and seventh Psalm contains much which might be taken for a celebration of our providential history.

"Oh, give thanks unto Jehovah; for he is good;
For his loving kindness endureth forever.

* Leviticus 25: 10.

Let the redeemer of Jehovah say so,
Whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the adversary,
And gathered out of the lands,
From the East and from the West,
From the North and from the South.

They wandered in the wilderness in a desert way;
They found no city of habitation.
Hungry and thirsty,
Their soul fainted in them.
Then they cried unto Jehovah in their trouble,
And he delivered them out of their distresses,
He led them also by a straight way,
That they might go to a city of habitation,
Oh, that men would praise Jehovah for his loving-kindness,
And for his wonderful works to the children of men!" *

Not only was it and is it the thought of the first minds of America that we are providentially favored and so divinely destined to a great future, but the great statesmen and political prophets of other nations share this view, though they may not welcome it. It is recognized by statesmen, diplomats and political economists of all lands, that there is a fortuitous conspiracy of circumstance quite independent of human ordering and control which makes for American supremacy. They may not call it divine providence, but neither do they attribute it to American foresight and wisdom. The growth of our census, our increasing wealth, our expansion and waxing imperialism, backed by geographical position and natural resources, are matters to which the

* Psalm 107: 1-8.

nations of the earth are not blind. The deference which is more and more shown American opinion in diplomatic circles and the unwonted authority with which Uncle Sam is able to speak even now fill European nations with anxiety and foreboding, modified only by respect for our wholesome national leadership in the cause of international peace. If only we can keep in the nation's heart a memory of Him who has led us, a sublime future awaits us. We can miss our greatness only by failing of our mission.

IV

The high mission of the nation is indicated by the national instinct. We dream of a great destiny. All thoughtful observers have recognized this fact as a characteristic American trait. There is a deep conviction of national destiny in us all. Nearly all philosophical writers on America and Americans remark upon the faith of Americans in the future of their country. This instinct is something fundamental and ineradicable. It is, therefore, prophetic. Dr. Albert Shaw says, "Never was there a nation so convinced of its own high destiny, so sure of a favorable providence." * Mr. Emil Reich says, "The Americans are filled with such an implicit and

* *Political Problems in America*, p. 84.

absolute confidence in their Union and in their future success that any remark other than laudatory is unacceptable to the majority of them." Mr. Herbert Croley, who quotes Mr. Reich, adds: "The faith of Americans in their own country is religious, if not in intensity, at any rate in its almost absolute and universal authority. It pervades the air we breathe. As children we hear it asserted or implied in the conversation of our elders. Every new stage of our educational training provides some additional testimony on its behalf." * This spirit of optimism in America is akin to our religion, in that it rests on certain foundations laid in the past and looks to the future. We believe in the pillars and principles of the republic, and expect something better ahead. Every hour is pregnant with promise of a great future. America is a Land of Promise. Dr. Henry Van Dyke said before the University of Paris, "I suppose it is true that there are more ambitious boys in America than in any other country in the world." That is undoubtedly true, and it is but an expression of our nature as Anglo-Americans. It is also true that no country in the world, nor all the countries in the world combined, can furnish so many conspicuous examples of great and powerful men grown out of poor and obscure boys.

* *The Promise of American Life,* by Herbert Croley, p. 1.

This instinct for greatness drives the whole nation forward in quest of that for which it calls. The announcement of the dignity and rights of man in the Declaration of Independence shows the existence of this conviction and fosters it. Intuition is premonition. It prophesies of capacity and is evidence of an objective reality to match and satisfy it. Instinct is the gift of the Creator and indicates purpose, design and a particular mission. There is a high and glorious destiny before this nation or there would not be in us all, high and low alike, such deep moral conviction of destiny, such anticipation of success. So sure are they that they were intended for greatness and that they are capable of great achievement, Americans do not hesitate to project great enterprises. Individuals in America manage corporations having the financial strength of whole nations. An ex-President telling European powers how to manage their affairs is but a daring example of the American's faith in himself.

Senator Beveridge makes some true observations upon this national intuition. "Put the plummet of your inquiry into the depths of a street-car driver's intelligence and you will find that his profoundest belief is that Americans are the greatest people in the world. Make a like experiment with the farmer

boy, and you will find a like result. Put the test to some merchant who has created a business, great or small; there, the same answer will speak to you. Take the coldest banker in the land, and you will find his greatest pride, exceeding the pride of gold, is that he is a citizen—a living part of the dominant nation of the world." *

V

The divine purpose and national mission are indicated by the rich bounty of our national resources. There is nothing in the material world quite so remarkable and significant as the natural wealth of this nation. We are the one independent nation living. We have an incomparable wealth in the primary necessities, to say nothing of our rivalry in the production of those delicacies which an advanced civilization demands. America leads the nations of the world in the production of raw materials,—of meat, bread, clothing and the materials for housing its citizenship and forces for turning these into finished utilities. To the substances necessary to human life, God added for their manufacture twenty times as much coal as He allotted to all Europe. With agricultural products already reaching

* *Americans of To-day and To-morrow,* by Albert J. Beveridge, p. 10.

$9,000,000,000 a year, we have nevertheless only fairly begun to develop these resources. We are just beginning to study intensive farming, have merely demonstrated the possibilities of irrigation, and have still in government reservations an area as large as the whole of France and twice as large as Italy. The manufacturing industry is comparatively a new art with us, but the gross value of our annual products of manufacture is $15,000,000,000. Our exports amount to nearly $2,000,000,000 annually, and our exports are largely the necessities, while our imports are the luxuries. We imported during 1910 in automobiles, champagne, French millinery, etc., $300,000,000, while we exported the cotton to clothe and the bread and meat to feed the European toiler and soldier. Americans can live without the imports named in these items, but no nation can live without those things which we export.

Added to our marvellous material resources and the fuel for running factories, America excels in that inventive and mechanical skill which is necessary to create the machinery for manufacture. The editor of the English *Review of Reviews*, in discussing the American genius for invention and machinery, points out the fact that the typewriter, the sewing-machine, the linotype, the automobile,

the phonograph, the telephone, the elevator and the incandescent electric light are all American inventions, and says that the American "has built nearly half the railways in the world." He says that our railroad mileage is "six times that of any other nation."

Could there be more significant material facts than these? Is it possible for language or figures to exaggerate their meaning or even measure them? Here is a Frenchman's view of this significant element in national advantage and promise, given in 1903: "Not only does it [America] continue to outdistance all competitors in the production of meat, wheat and cotton; but since 1890 it has wrested first place from England as an iron-producing country and since 1891 as a coal-producing country. Indeed, the day is not far distant when it will surpass England in the manufacture of cotton goods, as unfortunately it is on the point of surpassing France in the manufacture of silks. And as greatly as its domestic consumption is increasing in consequence of its enormous increase of population and wealth, its industrial development has been even more rapid, so that now it is beginning to ship its surplus products to foreign markets. To-day manufactured goods form one-third of its export trade in place of one-twelfth twenty years ago.

Not only this, but in 1901 its total export trade was for the first time of greater value than the export trade of any country in the world." * It is a fact of tremendous significance that the nation possesses those things which must of very necessity constitute the substrata of prosperity and power.

But there is danger that our people, while glorying in this distinction, shall lack the prophet's vision to discern its significance. What is the meaning of this fact for our statesmen? It is chiefly moral. These resources are the gift of the Creator. Man would be a fool to question that. We may dig and mould iron, but cannot grow it; we may plant and plough corn and cotton, but we cannot make climate. Our resources have a source, and that is God.

And God is an economist, as we have been told by our fathers and mothers in the nursery and as modern scientists are now teaching in the schools. God bestows with frugality and purpose. This national plenty indicates national mission. Our ample fortunes signify an august future. Our gold mines imply our gospel mission. God has given great resources because we have a great work to do. Senator Beveridge, speaking of the young American and

* *United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu, p. xiv.

these resources, says, "These are his tools; these are his commissions, direct from Nature herself, appointing him the master craftsman in human affairs now and for some centuries to come. And it is these which command him to be as large and as hopeful and as conqueringly vigorous in his personal life as are the elements of greatness with which fortune has endowed his country." *

The per capita wealth of the average American citizen is fourteen times that of the average Japanese, five and one-half times that of the Austrian, two and one-half that of the Russian. Excepting our Anglo-Saxon kinsman in Great Britain, who himself is much less well-to-do than we, our per capita wealth is almost double that of our closest rival. The people are poor in every land of the globe where the influence of evangelical religion is not strongly felt. The average daily wage of an American is seven and a half times that of the Japanese, three times that of the Italian, two and one-half times that of the Austrian, and larger than that paid the citizen of any other country.

VI

The expanse of our national domain almost defies exaggeration. For extent of wealth-producing area

* *Americans of To-day and To-morrow,* by Albert J. Beveridge, p. 21.

there is nothing among the powers of the globe quite like it. If in the play of international diplomacy, or by the turn of the wheel of national fortune, there should one day issue a confederation of the non-Anglican countries, all Italy, Spain, Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Greece, European Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden, Japan and China Proper,* this confederation would not possess as large a territory as that covered by the United States of North America. What a base of population God has given us! What a gigantic enterprise must it signify for the nation!

But the divine purpose is not less obvious in the geographical position than in its extent and wealth. Fortunate for situation, the envy of the whole earth is the landed estate of this republic. No other nation on all the globe holds so unique and commanding a position as does our own. In the very conformations of the continent there is prophecy of destiny. A great purpose was in the mind of the Almighty when He drew our shore lines and raised our mountains and shaped our plains and stretched our rivers like silver ribbons from mountain to sea across our verdant prairies and through our fertile valleys. The design is orig-

* See Dr. Josiah Strong's *Our Country* and *New Era*.

inal and individual. There is no other national domain like it or equal to it. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* estimates that the Mississippi River and its affluent streams afford thirty-five thousand miles of navigable waters, while all Europe has but seventeen thousand miles, or less than one-half that of the Mississippi and Missouri.

"Compare the location of the American republic.

"First of all, it is imperial in size. You can put all of Great Britain down in any one of several of its states. The same is true of Germany or France or any other power in the world, excepting only Russia. The first thing, then, that compels attention is the immensity of the American republic's dimensions.

"It is imperially bounded, also. On the east is one of the world's greatest oceans; on the west is the other of the world's greatest oceans; on the south is the world's greatest gulf; on its north are the world's greatest lakes. Through its centre runs the world's greatest river; in its west are the world's greatest mountains, heavy with the world's richest mines. You will say at the first glance that here is a land designed by Nature for separate development, disconnected from the rest of the human world and untroubled with external affairs. Here,

you will say at the first glance, is a location which compels the nation which occupies it to be an inland people.

"Yes! But at second glance you will say the reverse. For look at its coast line. And then look at the coast line of the other five greatest maritime nations. The coast line of the republic alone exceeds the coast lines of the other five put together. And its harbors—look at them; more in number than those of any other two maritime nations and unsurpassed in excellence on any shores of any seas. And behold, now, how cunningly the Master Contriver has placed these American harbors. Their locations are nothing short of triumphs of commercial and military strategy. New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, Boston, Mobile, New Orleans and all the harbors of the Gulf, San Francisco and the harbors of the Pacific—an impressive chain of ports, is it not? Harbors looking out upon Europe and inviting Europe; harbors looking out upon the Caribbean waters and the countries of South America and inviting them; harbors looking out upon the Pacific and the countries of the Orient and inviting them. Now consider ocean channels and currents; and then observe the nicety with which the republic's sea doors are located with reference to these; and, to sum up the whole situation, that

man's reason is palsied who denies the conclusions of this syllogism of Nature.

"A land capable of supporting a people defended from the rest of the world so long as they choose, its location is calculated to lead that people out over the world whenever they will. And so we see that in point of situation the country over which floats the Stars and Stripes is perfectly placed not only for self-development but for world dominance." *

"Strongly entrenched between its two oceans and having nothing to fear from its neighbors, it is in a unique position which all may envy but which none can reach" † Gladstone declared that we have "a national base for the greatest continuous empire ever established."

We insist that these things have a moral significance; that, unless we throw away our inheritance, we are to establish here the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race among all the nations of the world. We are to be a great nation, the greatest nation, but if a great nation, a nation with a great mission. We cannot account for God's part in our greatness except on the supposition that it is for a great pur-

* *Americans of To-day and To-morrow,* by Albert J. Beveridge, pp. 13-16.

† *United States in the Twentieth Century,* by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu, p. xviii.

pose—a religious purpose. Dr. Albert Shaw says, "We are only at the beginning of a great blended family of white men of European stock who have made their homes in what was so recently the wilderness of North America, and who are working out for themselves a life of varied human relationships in their effort toward the realization of certain ideals and standards." * We have seen what the ideals and standards of the fathers of the republic were. Our supreme task is to maintain these in our day and make sure of their inheritance by our children. We should work out this destiny, realize these ideals and make straight the path for our children to go the way God is going. There is no other way for the nation to go and certainly reach its divine goal.

* *Political Problems in America,* p. v.

II

THE REASON FOR THE MISSION

Assuming that the evidences of a divine providence in the history of the race and nation and, therefore, purpose, are too many to be doubted by any one who takes enough interest in religious matters to investigate them, we will now inquire more particularly into the reasonableness of the course of Providence. God has good reason for what He does; His providences are ordered in intelligence and conserve economy of effort and largeness of beneficent results.

The evidence is cumulative that in His missionary programme God has been after the Anglo-Saxon race. If we will now reflect upon the quality of the prize He has sought, we will find reason for the persistent and consistent course of Providence. To spare ourselves the charge of partiality, we shall do well to take the opinions of men of other nations who cannot, in the present case, be charged with this weakness.

I

One great problem with the Almighty, if we may think of Him as having problems, is to find men

through whom to do His work. The work which He has given to men He would not give to angels. Men must save men. God's cause on earth is man's cause, and men are needed to conduct it. The cause needs men and the best men. It is difficult for small men to grasp the magnitude of God's great enterprise and furnish the powers necessary to its success. The souls of all men are precious, but the missionary value of all men is not the same. Men are equal in their rights, but they are not equal in their capacities and powers. Not only the man behind the gun wins the victory, but the man behind the counter, behind the plough or the pen, and, perhaps above all, the man behind the pulpit, and the gospel message gives that pulpit power and that message effectiveness, or else, alas! he cuts short the influence of the one and the victories of the other. The enterprise needs the best men in order to get the best results. A nerveless and invertebrate preacher feebly proclaims a diluted gospel and makes a debilitate discipleship. Every man begets after his kind.

In drawing the first missionaries away from Asia to Europe God was after a race which could do His work of winning all races. He must have missionaries to conduct the cause of missions. He must have select men upon whom to lay such grave responsibility. And these must be men who have the

power of initiative, men who can introduce into other and all nations that to which they give their hearts. The Asiatics did not have these qualifications. The European white peoples did have them, and the Anglo-Saxon has them in a pre-eminent degree. He has the temperament and the genius for propagating his ideas and his civilization. He has the adventurous, the pioneer spirit essential to missionary advance and success. No yellow, brown, red or black race is thus constitutionally adapted to this task.

Something even more than the Greek and Latin peoples possessed was necessary. "Scarcely was Christianity rooted in Greece and Rome when Providence began to reveal designs still more far-reaching. It needed a higher type of character than Greece and Rome had produced." * "Christianity could not find scope to develop more than half its power, till it came in contact with other than the Greek and Latin minds: the Teutonic genius was needed to give full response to its inwardness and spirituality." † Going to Macedonia, Paul soon made converts who could inaugurate this larger movement and to whom he could write later, "For

* *Man's Partnership with Divine Providence,* by John Telford, B.A., p. 167.

† *A Study in Religion,* by James Martineau, II, 127.

from you hath sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to Godward is gone forth; so that we need not to speak anything." *

The Anglo-Saxon race has the distinctive capacity for introducing its policies, its civilization, its ideals and its institutions among other peoples. There is not a colored race in the world which could evangelize the white race. Instinctively the white man feels that he is the colored man's teacher, while at the same time his humanity impels a solicitude for every race. The Jews had rejected the Saviour and there were no other Asiatics who could universalize Christ's gospel and kingdom. If all China were Christian, the Chinese race very probably could not evangelize a single American state. All of Africa could not evangelize one county of American white people. If the apostles had turned into Asia they might, in the evangelistic zeal kindled at Pentecost, have established Christianity in China. They might have done the same had they turned into Africa, but an evangelized Africa, nor China, nor both combined, could have evangelized America. Indeed, Christianity perished in those parts of these lands where it was planted. The Anglo-Saxon people have a great capacity for Anglo-Saxonizing

* 1 Thessalonians 1 : 8.

other races, that is to say, raising them to the standard of their own ideals of government, society and religion. There are many more Chinamen in the world than Anglo-Saxons, but with the progress of civilization we shall not adopt the chopstick and the pigtail, but the Chinaman will buy knives and forks and cut off his queue. We say that the Negro is imitative, and so he is; but what does his imitativeness mean? It signifies that he is instinctively a learner, a pupil of the white man as the white man instinctively feels himself to be the Negro's teacher. There are no deeper lines in our natures than these. These facts do not reflect unfavorably upon these races, because they are the work of God in the creation of races; but they do most solemnly magnify the white man's responsibility.

The Chinaman is a persistent sort of mortal, but his is a persistence against progress. Constitutionally he lacks the elements necessary to missionary achievement. The Anglo-Saxon civilization has made a steady advance on the world's barbarism and the effete civilizations of other nations. What changes have taken place in Asia and Africa these two millenniums except such as the white man has instituted? How much better to-day is interior China and Africa than on that day when Paul heard the cry, "Come over, and help us," and turned

away from Asia to answer the call to Europe? What lands have Chinamen and Africans subdued? What nations uplifted? What literature have they created? What art, what music, what poetry have they produced? What sciences have they developed? What human benefits have they bestowed? It is true that Christianity has been an inspiration to the Anglo-Saxon people, and to it is to be attributed much of what the race has done. Doubtless we derived the inspiration from Christianity for the best things we have done. But the race must needs have possessed elemental impulses, power-wheels, so to speak, on which Christianity could act in order to drive it forward. The Spirit sought out the nation most capable of responding to the gospel, and by temperament, by instinct and by pre-eminent missionary genius qualified to give Christianity initiation in other lands and in other nations on its way to final and complete victory.

These facts throw light upon the restraints and constraints which the Holy Spirit put upon the apostles when He turned their steps into Europe, and help us to understand the missionary plan of the ages. The Spirit was leading and carried out the will and purpose of God. "What else is the Book of God than an inspired account of first ex-

periences in executing the commission under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Spirit?" *

We may not usually think of such being the case, but the Anglo-Saxon character is distinctive, individualistic. We think of the Chinaman, the Japanese, the Italian, and other nations as possessing racial peculiarities, but rarely do we reflect that we present to these as distinct a national type as they do to us. The fact is that, although we are a composite race, there is, perhaps, among the races no more individualistic type than the Anglo-Saxon when the spirit and genius of this race is in the ascendency.

What, then, is our grade among the nations of the earth, fixed by the qualities which distinguish us? Does it give us an inferior rank? There is but one answer to be given: the characteristic qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race declare for it a pronounced superiority as regards qualities for leadership in the highest things of civilization. Listen to the impartial testimony of an intelligent Frenchman, "*Anglo-Saxon Superiority!* Although we do not all acknowledge it, we all have to bear it, and we all dread it; the apprehension, the suspicion, and sometimes the hatred provoked by l'Anglais proclaim the fact loudly enough. We cannot go one

* *Missions in the Plan of the Ages,* by Dr. W. O. Carver, p. 22.

step in the world without coming across the Anglo-Saxon. . . . He rules America by Canada and the United States; Africa by Egypt and the Cape; Asia by India and Burmah; Australasia by Australia and New Zealand; Europe and the whole world, by his trade and industries and by his policy." * This is a frank tribute to the English-speaking race at large. Mr. W. T. Stead, the great English journalist, divides the compliment unequally with Americans and not only admits that the United States have arrived at the place of leadership among English-speaking nations, but says, " The advent of the United States of America as the greatest of world powers is the greatest political, social and commercial phenomenon of our times." †

Such testimony could be multiplied, but the modern achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race compared with the achievements of all the world beside constitute such irrefragable evidence of the fact that these quotations are not needed. It is, indeed, a demonstration of superior talents and force that the race has so quickly come to the leadership of the world in advanced ideals of civilization. Says Mr. H. Perry Robinson, " The ultimate domination

* *Anglo-Saxon Superiority*, by M. Edmond Demolins.

† *The Americanization of the World*, by W. T. Stead, London, 1902.

of the world by the Anglo-Saxon (let us call him so) seems to be reasonably assured." * This view of our future is receiving larger recognition by those who dread it than by us of whom it is said to be true.

It is plain enough that God should covet a race with such powers and such a future for the ends He seeks to promote in the world. It is His will that in the day of Anglo-Saxon power the testimony, the fame, the influence of the race shall be for righteousness and the founding of His Kingdom in the world.

It is now becoming plain to all intelligent men that unless the Anglo-Saxons themselves throw away their opportunity, America is to be the seat of empire for this race. From America, already the home of the great majority of this remarkable people, more than anywhere else, issues their world-conquering spirit. Here the race will express in social and political institutions the deep things of its soul, its racial instincts and religious ideals, and from this great base of national resources and advantage extend its influence throughout the world. Rapidly are we here creating institutions and developing material wealth which will support the race in its majestic enterprise.

And what a prize to covet for Christ! How

* *The Twentieth Century American*, p. 19.

this nation would enrich the Kingdom of God on earth! What a trophy to lay at the pierced feet! If America is so rich and is to be so powerful, if it is to be ours, if the race which holds supremacy here is such in character as the most thoughtful observers outside of America declare, then, there is no other such prize to take for our Lord. And since by His providence and blessing we are what we are as a nation, should not the nation be brought to know His rightful Lordship?

There is ground for self-respect, but ought to be no temptation to self-boasting, in a frank recognition of the fact that in many respects Anglo-Saxons are a peculiar people, a distinguished branch of the human family, and that in our own land this distinguished race is at its best. Whatever use we may make of the fact it is nevertheless true; it is recognized by intelligent observers and historians of every land. The United States contains incalculable wealth and a mighty domain, the temperate portion of the world's greatest continent. But it contains more: it is, and is more and more becoming, in point of citizenship, civilization's mightiest power-house. Christianity needs the example and the support of such a nation. American conquest means more men and more capable men for the missionary enterprise. It requires great forces,

whether physical or moral, to produce great results. No other nation in the world possesses Anglo-America's power to overturn an existing order and propagate its ideals and the characteristics of its civilization and government.

To quote the acknowledgment of a foreigner, "The wealth and strength of a country depend, of course, upon its population as well as upon its natural resources; and the value of a human element, again, lies not so much in the number as in the quality of its inhabitants. In both respects the United States has been exceptionally favored. Small in numbers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its population has increased more rapidly than that of any other Power; so rapidly, indeed, that by 1870 the United States had more inhabitants than any European country with the exception of Russia. . . . The United States to-day has twice as many inhabitants as France or England, and one and one-third as many as Germany. But it is in respect to the quality of the people that its superiority is most pronounced.

"From the days of the Pilgrim fathers . . . the Americans have been the product of a selection, and of a double selection. Only the boldest, the most enterprising of men have the courage to traverse the sea for the purpose of carrying out a new

life in an unknown and distant land. Then, having arrived, only the most energetic, the wisest and most gifted in the spirit of organization succeed in a struggle which is most severe, more merciless to the feeble in new countries than in old ones. Thus, America, so to speak, has secured the cream of the Old World society. That is why the human standard is higher there than in other countries." *

In America, for the first time since the Saxons and the Angles became a hyphen race, these people have had a chance to express their governmental instincts, ideals and convictions, and our Constitution and the civil and social institutions which we have formed under it are the result. The Anglo-Saxon spirit is not yet free in England, although, as we have already admitted, England presents to the world a superb and well-administered government. Evangelical religion was arrested in its growth before it had finished its work for democracy in England. Before the Reformation had worked out its complete results the "Establishment" put bans on the consciences of the evangelicals, drove many of them from the country and assigned the rest to unequal advantage by taxing them to support a non-Anglican and semi-evangelical

* *The United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu, pp. xvii-xviii.

ecclesiastical order. Had she kept these brave spirits at home and allowed them to work out the deep instincts of their Anglo-Saxon natures and carry to a consistent conclusion the principles of evangelical religion the Norman crust would have been broken and thrown off and English life to-day, religious and political, would be different. As the case was decided, the Norman inheritance of aristocracy and monarchy still repress the Anglo-Saxon instinct for pure democracy. The House of Lords and privileged ecclesiarchs, with inherited but effete titles, are fastened like leeches to the body politic and sap its life. Civil and ecclesiastical paraphernalia and pomposity hamper Anglo-Saxon civilization in England. The inheritance of special privileges and distinctions without regard to personal merit is not Anglo-Saxon in its nature but a surviving sign of Norman bondage.

Not until there was effected a conjunction of democracy, evangelical religion and the Anglo-Saxon race, did there issue pure republican institutions. Democracy was planted by gospel evangelists, sprouted with earliest evangelical experience, rooted in the storms of the Reformation, grew in England and became strong and fruitful in America. Here, first of all, did democracy yield liberty, equality and fraternity to all the people. In Amer-

ica alone does the race realize itself, or rather does it have the way open for such realization. The process is still incomplete.

"The foreign observer in America is at once struck by the fact that the average of intelligence, as that intelligence manifests itself in the spirit of inquiry, in the interest taken in a great variety of things, and in alertness of judgment, is much higher among the masses in the United States than anywhere else. This is certainly not owing to any superiority of the public school system in this country—or, if such superiority exists, not to that alone —but rather to the fact that in the United States the individual is constantly brought into interested contact with a greater variety of things and is admitted to active participation in the exercise of functions which in other countries are left to the care of a superior authority. I have frequently been struck by the remarkable expansion of the horizon effected by a few years of American life, in the minds of immigrants who had come from somewhat benighted regions, and by the mental enterprise and keen discernment with which they took hold of problems to which, in their comparatively torpid condition in their native countries, they had never given thought." *

* *Carl Schurz's Memoirs,* II, p. 79.

America has gathered to itself out of the nations more people than any other nation upon earth and will accordingly affect the other nations in a way and to a degree that no other nation can. This enhancement of the personal value and force of the foreigner who comes to us will itself add greatly to the weight of Anglo-Saxon influence upon other nations.

Our English speech is a powerful instrument for the fulfilment of our national mission. It is worthy to be studied in the light of that mission. It would seem to have been formed by Providence to be the helpmate of evangelical religion. It was taking its printed form just when the Reformation was coming to its birth. Many words were forever charged with the spirit of the new experiences which the world was coming into. The first great purpose of the English speech was to furnish expression to the new and thrilling emotions of the soul started by the breath of the divine Spirit who was once more among the people. No dead language could declare the new experience. The warm pulsing of God in the soul bounded forth in the new tongue, and imparted to much of our language an everlasting religious flavor, and made the whole of it the best instrument on earth for the dissemination of the evangelical gospel. A thousand words in our

language cannot be spoken with intelligence without awakening religious reflections or emotions.

Although, in its present form, the English language is not more than five hundred years old, it is to-day spoken by more people than speak its two chief rivals, and the man who uses it well possesses the most perfect facility afforded by spoken or written language for propagating and popularizing his principles and policies. Doubtless the French has the advantage in felicity of expression, but English is superior in facility. That is to say, one may say a thing more gracefully in French but can say it more strongly and with more directness and obvious frankness in English. The first is more polite, the latter more virile; the French more pleasing, the English more convincing. The English tongue is best for the serious business of the world. Grimm, the German authority, said, "In richness, in compact adjustment of parts, and in pure intelligence, none of the living languages can be compared with it—not even our own German, which must cast off imperfections before it can boldly enter on its career." Bacon did not think his native tongue good enough to be trusted with his thoughts, and Voltaire and Frederick the Great thought the French destined to be the world-language. But with the vitalizing spirit of evangelical religion breathing in it, English

has rapidly gained the supremacy over all competitors and its lead grows more marked each passing decade. "There are already almost three times as many who have English for a mother-tongue as now have French for their native speech.

"The possibilities of growth and expansion still lie boundless before the English tongue. It has already the support not of one great nationality only but of two." * Commercial agents and correspondents, travellers, emigrants, teachers, and above all, the missionaries, help to disseminate this great language in a way that no other is helped. "It is the easiest language to learn by word of mouth," † and, for this reason, is quickly caught by the foreigner from the crowd on our streets or from the tourist on his own. For an American to speak German, French or Italian is a sign of culture, but for the "dago" to speak English is taken as a matter of course. In 1700 six millions spoke the English language; in 1800 twenty millions, and in 1900 one hundred and twenty millions spoke it. At the present time probably one hundred and forty millions speak it.

More than one-half of those who speak the English tongue live under the Stars and Stripes. This

* Brander Matthews, in the *Century Magazine*, July, 1908.
† *Ibid.*

gives the nation an incalculable advantage in propagating its principles and ideals and with these of fulfilling its mission to the world.

II

It is a matter worthy a more particular and extended study that so many travellers and writers from the Old World have observed the fact that, in the light of Anglo-Saxon characteristics, the race has improved in America. Mr. H. Perry Robinson, an intelligent and fair-minded Englishman who has studied American and English traits for a lifetime, says: "The American people is not only an English people; it is much more Anglo-Saxon than the English themselves." *

It is in America, too, that the race is most characteristically Anglo-Saxon. Our own Longfellow was both poet and historian when he said,

"God has sifted three kingdoms to find the wheat for this planting,
Then had sifted the wheat as a living seed of a nation."

From the mightiest race in Europe God made selections of seed corn for the planting of a nation in America. The Anglo-Saxon began anew his history here. An Englishman testifies that, "All nationalities have been smelted down in order to pro-

* *The Twentieth Century American,* p. 86.

duce that richest ingot of humanity, the modern American." *

Robert Louis Stevenson wrote freely of the Americans and declared that we have in America a more homogeneous people than is found in England and Scotland. This may surprise some, since America is so large and England and Scotland so small, and yet Mr. Stevenson's observation is supported both by Europeans who have studied American conditions and Americans who have studied conditions in Europe. Mr. H. Perry Robinson, already quoted, says, "There are differences of speech in America, but at the most, they remain so slight that, after all, the resident in one section will rather pride himself on his acuteness in recognizing the intonation of the stranger as being that of some other—of the South, it may be, or of New England. An educated Londoner has difficulty in understanding even the London cockney. Suffolk, Cornish, Lancashire—these are almost foreign tongues to him. The American of the South has at least no difficulty in understanding the New Englander; the New Yorker does not have to make the Californian repeat each sentence that he utters.

"And this similarity of tongue—this universal mutual comprehensibility—is a fact of great impor-

* W. T. Stead, in *The Americanization of the World*, p. 147.

tance to the nation. It must tend to rapidity of communication—to greater uniformity of thought—to much greater readiness in the people to concentrate as a nation on one idea or one object. How much does England now lose—there is no way of measuring, but the amount must be very great—by the fact that communication of thought is practically impossible between people who are neighbors? How much would it not contribute to the national alertness, to national efficiency if the local dialects could be swept away and the peasantry and gentry of all England—nay of the British Isles—talk together easily in one tongue? It is impossible not to believe that this ease in the intercourse of ideas must in itself contribute greatly to uniformity of thought and character in a people. Possessing it, it is not easy to see how the American people could have failed to become more homogeneous than the English." * Dr. Albert Shaw confirms this observation in the following language: "England is not large in area and the people are generally regarded as homogeneous in their insularity. But as a matter of fact the population of different parts of England are scarcely at all acquainted in any other part. Thus the Yorkshireman would only by the

* *The Twentieth Century American*, by H. Perry Robinson, pp. 85-6.

rarest chance have relatives in Kent or Cornwall. The intimacy between North Carolina and Missouri, for example, is comparatively greater than that between one part of England and another part. In like manner the people of the North of France know very little of those of the South of France, or even of those living in districts not at all remote. Exactly the same is true of Italy and Germany, and is characteristic of almost every other European land. As compared with other countries, we in America are literally a band of brothers." * He further explains the fact by pointing out how the new settlements in America were effected by the Americans and in this way the whole country was kept in touch with the original modes of thought and expression of our people. All of this has a practical bearing upon the national character, solidarity and power.

There is reason in the following remark by Professor John Fiske: "It is apt to be the case that men who leave their country for reasons connected with conscience and principle, men who have once consecrated themselves to a cause, are picked men with ability and character. Such men are likely to exert upon any community which they may enter an

* *The Outlook of the Average Man,* by Albert Shaw, pp. 204-5.

influence immeasurably greater than an equal number of men taken at random." * Dr. Josiah Strong gives what seems to be the indisputable testimony, namely, that the average American is a whole inch taller than the average Englishman; he has a greater chest measurement, weighs more and is still increasing in stature. The American, certainly, thinks quicker, if not more profoundly, acts more promptly, moves more swiftly and is more inventive and adventurous. In no country in the world can there be found among the masses so many men capable of handling large enterprises and dealing with large questions.

Dr. Albert Shaw says: "In England, it would not be considered possible at any given moment to name more than a handful of men capable of dealing effectively upon short notice with the problems that belong to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Yet the problems that present themselves for consideration to the American Secretary of the Treasury have a much wider range than those that must usually be faced by the European finance minister. Where a hundred men in some countries might be regarded as students of the varied theoretical and practical problems of money and currency, as re-

* *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, by John Fiske, Vol. II, pp. 28-9.

lated to public and private finance, we have many thousands in the United States who have arrived at convictions upon almost every important phase of those abstruse and technical matters." *

The distinguished editor of the British *Review of Reviews* has written a volume of four hundred and fifty pages to show that the race has improved physically and mentally in America and that this improved type is Americanizing the world; and he urges the wisdom of annexing England as a State of the Federal Union. In the advocacy of this, he has allies in Mr. Carnegie, the late Earl of Derby and others. Lord Derby said, " The highest ideal that I can look forward to in the future of my country is that the time may come when we may be admitted into the American Union as States in one great Federation." This would undoubtedly put the Anglo-Saxon race in command of the world. Contrary to Mr. Stead, however, the British would, as a preliminary to such a union, have to give up their monarchy, hereditary peerage and union of Church and State. But recent developments indicate that they are getting ready to settle these questions anyhow.

The people of this land are the inheritors of the wealth of ages. Upon them the ends of the earth

* *Political Problems in American Development,* p. 99.

are come. Motley, the American historian, declares that "the American democracy is the result of all that is great in bygone times. All led up to it; it embodies all. Mt. Sinai is in it; Greece is in it; Egypt is in it; Rome is in it; England is in it; all the arts are in it; and all the reformations and all the discoveries."

Not only is the excellence of our citizenship thus admitted, but this citizenship enjoys that which for the Anglo-Saxon people is the best government in the world. We do not believe that ours is the best government for all divisions of the human family at the present. Some civilizations are not prepared for the enjoyment without abusing the institutions of a pure democracy. Matthew Arnold declared that the republican form of government "is the only eventual form of government for all people"; and de Tocqueville, after studying American institutions, reached the conclusion that "democracy is of God's decree." Both, doubtless, are right, but it is only *eventually* that democracy will be suited to all the people. Democracy is, as we have seen, a thing of spiritual and religious origin and men are not prepared for democratic government until religion has wrought in them the spirit of democracy and a capacity for self-government. Democratic institutions would be as pearls cast before swine to some people.

With the liberty which democracy guarantees they would simply rend themselves and in doing so trample the principles of democracy under their feet.

We have the ripest fruit of religion and of the world's thought on civil government and we require the ripest products of civilization in our citizenship for the maintenance of order under such a political régime. Where there is the largest liberty there must be the largest reverence for law. Democracy is the fine art in political economy and cannot be appreciated by men who lack esthetic souls. The men who drew our national laws and framed our Constitution were not only picked men, but they undertook their task after they and their progenitors had passed through a long term in the school of experience. Such training is necessary to fit men to think long and soberly before they draft laws which prescribe the limits of their own and other men's liberties. Such men produced a fundamental law for the government of a free people which is unequalled in the history of civil documents.

The national Declaration of Independence and Federal Constitution are worthy of study as expressive of distinctive Anglo-Saxon Americanism. Such competent and impartial testimony as the following may be taken as to the merit of the latter document: W. E. Gladstone said that it is "the

most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the mind and purpose of man." * James Bryce said, in his *American Commonwealth,* "After all deduction it ranks above every other written constitution for the intrinsic excellencies of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity and beauty of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness of principle with elasticity of detail." † No higher authority could be quoted to establish the superiority of the fundamental law of our people.

The Constitution is an Anglo-Saxon document and places the race at the front of modern governments and gives it opportunity to go higher. Henceforth others may follow; none can lead, if we live up to our traditions and preserve our institutions. We are ahead and have fewer weights upon us and fewer impediments before us. Where other governments have sought supremacy by extraneous authority we have sought it by vesting the people with authority. We have, in the true spirit of democracy and evangelical religion, sought not conquests but converts to the doctrine of equal rights and self-government. Our principle is in advance of the ideals of other nations and we are lifted forward

* *Gleanings of Past Years,* Vol. I, p. 212.
† *American Commonwealth,* Vol. I, p. 27.

by our effort to realize it. In other cases the advance of the people means the disintegration of the present civil order. Monarchies must decline wherever the democratic idea advances. Allowing men the right to individual initiative and opportunity for self-expression, we will in time produce a race of men as superior to other races as our democratic government is superior to other governments. If other races advance they must advance toward us and not away from us. They must follow since we have led.

Already, as we have seen, intelligent and impartial observers of the tendency of our race upward are pronouncing eulogies upon the American type, and some who are not impartial observers are doing so. Mr. H. G. Wells, who is certainly without favoritism for America and Americans, says, "In spite of my patriotic inclinations, in spite, too, of the high intelligence and efficiency of Germany, it seems to me that in America, by the sheer virtue of its size, its free tradition and the habit of initiation of its people, the leadership of progress must ultimately rest." *

III

One element in the process of building a great Anglo-Saxon civilization in America is now pro-

* *Future in America,* p. 257.

voking much discussion. That question is whether we can, with the presence among us of some ten millions of Negroes and the present rate of foreign immigration, maintain Anglo-Saxon ascendency in America. That is a matter which undoubtedly demands the most serious and patriotic consideration; for it is only by maintaining Anglo-Saxon control in America that this nation can fulfil the ideals of its founders and the purposes of God in guarding it by His special providences. Personally we are optimistic. The facts do not indicate to us the downfall in America of Anglo-Saxon predominance. The plain figures of the Census Bureau show us that at present sixty per cent. of our population are the descendants of the makers of America. If we consider later additions of Scotch, Welsh and Irish, perhaps three-fourths of our people descended from Britain. These figures do not take account of the fact that many of the foreigners who have come to us have become so assimilated, so steeped in American thought and so imbued with American patriotism, that they are practically Anglo-Saxon.

We must give our overworked hyphenated word, "Anglo-Saxon," a very broad meaning in certain uses of it. It must be made to include all European peoples who have become Anglo-Saxonized and Americanized. American Anglo-Saxonism is in-

deed the result of a process by which white men of many social lineages have passed through common mental and spiritual experiences and have been drawn together in the pursuit of common ideals and into an "intellectual fraternity." We have produced here a distinctive type, which may be called the American Blend. Says Dr. Van Dyke, "Heredity is not merely physical, it is spiritual. There is a transmission of qualities through the soul as well as through the flesh." * The possession of the evangelical religion and the English tongue constitutes initiation into Anglo-Saxonism. The first qualifies and the second equips one for membership in this fraternity.

So far as the Negro population is concerned it does not to-day compose as large a proportion of our population as it once did. At one time almost twenty per cent. of our population were Negroes. To-day 10.7 per cent. is of this race as against 88.9 per cent. of white population, and it is safe to forecast that the proportion of Negroes to whites will never be larger.

Dr. Henry Van Dyke points out the fact that eighty-six per cent. of the distinguished men and women of America are native-born, of native parents, and that in all our history we have had but

* *The Spirit of America,* by Henry Van Dyke, p. 17.

one president who did not have ancestors in America before the Revolution. These facts are indicative of continued Anglo-Saxon ascendency.

Moreover, it is the opinion of this writer that the Negro, while presenting a serious religious problem, is not so serious a menace to national democracy as some Europeans and Asiatics. Indeed, we doubt not that there are in America to-day one hundred plutocrats of American lineage who constitute a more ominous threat to American democracy than the ten million Negroes of America. It has so turned out that the Negro's presence has called forth a new emphasis upon the democracy of our government. The race issue in America instituted such a test of our boasted democracy as, perhaps, a principle of government was never put to before, and it has stood the strain. Moreover, the Negro has been so long in America, under American institutions and tuition in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon population, and with no appreciable addition by African immigration for one hundred years, and he is so imitative, that he lacks only the intellectual, manual and moral training now in process to make him a genuine democrat.

It must not be forgotten that democracy increases and maintains its dominance not so much by amalgamation and absorption as by the impartation and

diffusion of its spirit, its mind, its temper, its ideals among the peoples. Democracy is a thing of the spirit. The Negro race is catching the spirit of democracy and Anglo-Saxonism and may become a mighty factor in fulfilling the divine mission of the race to the world, including our mission to the "Dark Continent." It is this which makes our tutoring of the Negro race and giving him a fair chance worth while. Through him we shall have an ally in our work of universalizing American and Christian ideals.

That there are dangers threatening Anglo-Saxon supremacy in America it would be folly to deny, but if these prevail against us it will be our own fault and a sign that we have proved ourselves unworthy of our inheritance and ungrateful to the providence which has been over us. The penalty of our ingratitude for what God has done for us as a nation and our purblindness to His purposes will not be less severe, we may be sure, than that which befell the Jewish nation when, through unfaithfulness, it forfeited God's special favor. We may well pause to think on that judgment before we, as a nation, throw away our inheritance and thwart the plans of Jehovah.

There is, of course, a danger from unwise dealing with our immigration problem. If the nation

sits supinely down and lets gigantic industrial corporations and foreign steamship companies exploit our marvellous country, ransack Europe for steerage passengers, and thus select for us our immigrant citizenship, we may expect certain judgment. For cheap labor and the price of transportation these cooperating corporations will overrun our land with the unfittest element of degenerate European populations, while at the same time relieving other nations of this encumbrance. By this process the parents of American citizens will be selected out of the deficient element, while the countries from which we have drawn them will be left with their best element out of which to build up the national stock. It does not require a prophet to see that it is only a matter of time when the scales will gradually tip against us, if this order of things continues. This is inevitable if there is a grain of truth in the doctrine of heredity.

We emphatically declare that this nation has a higher mission than to be the land to which other nations may exile their degenerates. And the most patriotic students of our immigrant problems agree that there is yet much legislative and administrative work to be done if we, as a nation, are not to be party to a decline in the moral, intellectual and physical values of our citizenship. If the nation

itself assumes the right and performs the duty of choosing its immigrants, immigration may contribute to our national greatness. We have many illustrious examples of naturalized foreigners who are among the foremost of our patriotic Christian citizens. Indeed, perhaps, the wisest words spoken on this very question of immigration in recent years have been spoken by men who were born across the sea but found in America a home and a social climate congenial to their ideals and ambitions and became Americans in the very highest and truest sense. But this fact itself proves the wisdom of a wise selection of our immigrants as well as the other fact, that men have been brought who have already started a process of national deterioration. For instance, the agents of steamship companies have for several years made a specialty of soliciting Socialists from Russia and Italians from Southern Europe, and even the casual reader of the daily newspapers knows that we have, as a result, organized anarchy, expert blackmailing and bomb-throwing in almost every city of the land. The most reliable statistics reveal the fact that we have by this method of importing burdened the nation with a weight of poverty and insanity as well as vice which is truly alarming.

A few luminous sentences from Mr. Robert Hun-

ter's book, *Poverty*, will give us light here: "According to the Census of 1890 there were in proportion to population over twice as many foreign-born inmates of charitable and penal institutions as there were native born. . . . Taking an equal number of persons from the foreign element and native element, the foreign element furnishes four times as many paupers." * Of the insane Mr. Hunter says, "The insane hospitals to which the foreigners supply an unduly large proportion are among the most expensive institutions. Mr. Goodwin Brown, of the State Commission of Lunacy for New York, estimates that in the course of ten years about fifty million dollars are expended by the United States to care for the foreign-born insane. The Italians show a very large proportion of insane in the asylums and hospitals. Out of about twenty-four thousand insane persons in New York State almost exactly one-half are foreign born. Mr. Brown says in another place, 'We know of instance after instance, in fact there are thousands of them, where the insane have been only a few months out of the hospital on the other side.'" †

The facts concerning criminality are no less alarming than those concerning pauperism and in-

* *Poverty*, by Robert Hunter, pp. 285-6.
† *Ibid.*, p. 287.

sanity. Indeed, they are even more alarming since they show what we refer to in another place, namely, that the American-born children of foreigners are more criminal than the foreigners themselves. We quote Mr. Hunter: "The number of crimes committed by the foreign born is only slightly, if at all, above the due proportion. In the matter of intoxication and disorderly conduct, the foreign born furnish about three times as many offenders as the native born. For assault, burglary, larceny, and grand larceny, there is a slight predominance of foreign born. It is, however, among the children of foreign parentage that criminals are found in greater number. The most vicious, confirmed, incorrigible child criminal is the child of foreign parents. As a tough and outlaw he has few, if any, equals." * "Out of every million of the voting population in Massachusetts, there were about nineteen thousand male criminals of foreign parents, while among the children of native parents there were only three thousand and ninety. In the five states where the recent immigrant most often finds his home, his children supply from two to six times as many criminals as the children of native parents." †

The above quotations will carry their own lessons

* *Poverty,* by Robert Hunter, p. 288.
† *Ibid.,* p. 289.

concerning the need for greater discrimination in the class of foreigners we allow corporations to fill up our country with and the dangers which are being created for us under our present immigration laws. If we seriously propose to maintain here an Anglo-Saxon civilization freed for its fullest service to humanity, we must preserve the nation in its youth from such national diseases as those indicated.

Canada has shown a wisdom which we have despised. The government of Canada, itself, exploits the country, appeals to the classes it desires for citizens and induces the sort of settlement which will tend to the development of the national resources and the enrichment of the nation. Instead, therefore, of congested city populations composed of aliens, Canada is showing a genius for settling thrifty and industrious farmers over its great wheat lands. The law is so framed as to make it difficult for undesirables to come and hard for them to stay, while inducements and a welcome are given ambitious farmers and industrious farm laborers. The result is that while we are drawing millions from Southern Italy, Canada is being settled by the thrifty classes from Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and, what is more to the point, by the sturdiest class of native Americans. Thousands of the most success-

ful farmers of America, men who sprang from the original American stock, are settling on the great wheat lands of Northwest Canada. About one-third of the Dominion's immigrants are from America, and more than one-half from America and Great Britain. Immigrants to Canada are not so numerous as to America but more meritorious. The plain truth is, we Americans are afflicted with a mania for bigness and numbers. We scour creation to swell the census report of the nation and of our cities. Already many of our cities suffer chronic obsession.

As a small token of the advantage which Canada, as compared with the United States, immediately derives from its immigrants we may mention the fact that our emigrants have carried millions of money into Canada which was accumulated in America, while our immigrants, brought to us in rags, are now sending millions of our money to Italy. Here is a problem worthy of the attention of American statesmen.

The duty of preserving Anglo-Saxon supremacy in America forbids that we should introduce foreign peoples of any sort faster than we can assimilate them, much less ought we to glut our national stomach with unwholesome and unassimilable foreign elements.

The decline in the quality and increase in the

quantity of our immigrants since 1880 is causing general apprehension throughout the nation. Many are raising the question whether we will be able to Americanize these millions of people whose political, religious and social ideas are so diametrically opposed to our own. Since the above date there has been a great decline in the number of immigrants from those peoples and institutions closest akin to us, and a great increase from those most alien and inimical to our welfare. That is to say, we have shifted from Protestant to Catholic countries; from lands of popular government to those of absolute monarchies; from a predominating literacy to a prevailing illiteracy; from skilled labor to unskilled labor; from men of independence to those who are indolent, indigent and discontented; from those who sought liberty to promote their evangelical faith to those who seek a foothold for the propagation of socialistic views of various sorts at variance with our traditional democracy. Some there are, to be sure, among the latest comers who seek release from the despotism of their fatherland and from state religions and crave opportunity for their children. But in every steerage there are diligent agents of the Pope and of iconoclastic political orders. We doubt not that in many cases the frenzied enemy of all social order was made such by the false re-

ligion under which he has suffered. But this fact only magnifies the danger from such an element among us unless we reach them speedily with better religious ideas. Our task of suffusing this heterogeneous mass with our national spirit and surcharging it with our religious ideas is one which grows more difficult every day. Professor Commons says, "We have completed the round of all divisions of the human family and have brought together for a common experiment at self-government the yellow, brown, white and black races of the world. . . . Scarcely another nation in ancient or modern history can show within compact borders so varied an aggregation." *

The same author discusses in a luminous way the two processes by which race unity may be established; namely, by amalgamation and assimilation. By amalgamation is meant the inter-marriage of these dissimilar peoples, while by assimilation is meant, not the fusion of blood, but the fusion of thought and ideals, a process by which one dominant race imparts its political principles, its national spirit, its moral and religious sentiments to the other elements of the population and so lifts them to its plane of citizenship and civilization.

* *Races and Immigrants in America,* by John R. Commons, p. 17.

The first process is, under the most favorable conditions, slow. A historical instance of its most rapid accomplishment is, perhaps, that of the amalgamation of the related races, the Celt, the Teuton and Scandinavian in England, which required two hundred years from the time the last element was added to the process. This experiment was made in contracted territory and in times of comparative insular seclusion which, in a measure, put it out of comparison with our land and time; and it may be added, the process was never perfected even in this instance. There is in England to-day a political and social discord which is the survival of racial antipathies existing through centuries.

Democracy in America lends favor to a more rapid amalgamation of the races of near kin. But four hundred years have not produced results here which would justify us in relying upon this process. For example, witness the Germans of Pennsylvania and the French in Louisiana. The preservation in such instances as these of the alien stock distinct from the surrounding American type is evidence that we cannot rely upon amalgamation to effect the desired end. The process is too slow.

We must then seek to create a common life, a national spirit and a national unity by another process. Our task and our hope is the diffusion of the

real American spirit among all classes, that is to say, the impartation to the alien elements of the original spiritual temper which created the republic. And this is chiefly the task of religion and the religious teacher. "E Pluribus Unum" is our national motto. We may leave the Orient peoples their yellow skins, the African peoples their black skins, but we must create in them all the one spirit, a kinship of soul and a common national aim, and under the power of religious impulse rally them all to our standard in fulfilling our national mission. The warm spirit of brotherly love and Christian evangelism will, more than any other, quicken this process of saturation with the national spirit.

The brilliant editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* finds satisfaction in the observation that in all the vari-formed mosaic of our population we still have only two political parties, and cites this fact as proof of the successful assimilation of the alien peoples. But the fact may have another explanation, namely: the two old parties through their leaders may have lowered themselves to the people for the sake of their votes quite as much as they have lifted up the people for the sake of the nation. We have heard of party platforms especially framed to catch the foreign vote, the Catholic vote, etc. Class planks mean class legislation if the party using them gets

into power and keeps its promises. This is thoroughly un-American. Professor Edward A. Steiner, a thoroughly Americanized foreigner, points out, as the worst and most corrupting thing in our national life, the custom of political parties voting men as foreigners and not as Americans. The political party which is without principles and economic measures to commend it, and is not strong enough to bring men up to these, but must make a catch-vote platform, is a menace to free government. There is enough to be said in favor of certain original American principles, now neglected or abused, to make a platform large enough for a party to stand on and to give it popularity with patriotic Americans. Tolstoi makes one of his characters in *Anna Karénina* say, "The only nations which can have a future, the only nations which deserve the name of historic, are those which feel the importance and value of their institutions and prize them." * Nothing but a political conscience among our citizens can break down the habit of political parties in making platforms simply for party purposes. Christian citizens must call for provisions which will take care of our institutions and not merely of ambitious politicians.

Our problem, then, is two-fold: the Americaniza-

* *Anna Karénina*, by Count Tolstoi, p. 260.

tion of a varied and incongruous element and such invigoration of American Anglo-Saxonism as will make it equal to the task of accomplishing this by the process of assimilation or the diffusion of a healthy national spirit into these enfeebled members of the body politic. Therefore, our first great task is to make our own people good and strong. To guarantee our safety, there must be maintained here in the domestic, political, social, business and religious life of our citizenship a masculine virility capable of preserving and imparting the American spirit. This is the only hope for American democracy.

IV

But there is danger to the Anglo-Saxon future from another source, which while supplementing the evil of present immigration is, perhaps, the greater evil of the two. We refer to the growing sin of race suicide, against which Mr. Roosevelt is the popular preacher. The ex-President has given courageous application to facts which careful social scientists have discovered. Beginning more than twenty-five years ago with the investigations of Mr. Francis A. Walker, who was twice superintendent of censuses and, therefore, had the best opportunity to get the figures, and followed by such men as Professor John R. Commons and Mr. Robert Hunter,

statistics have been compiled which show that in certain parts of our country there is an alarming decline in the birth-rate of native Americans. It has been ascertained by careful computation that the loss to the nation by this decline in birth-rate has been as great as its gain by immigration; and the loss has been of our Anglo-American stock, while our gain has, for the most part, been of alien races. If our native American families had continued to multiply at the rate maintained from colonial times to 1840 and foreign immigration had ceased altogether from that date, we would have a population as large as that which our last census gives us. Race suicide has cost us as many native Americans as immigration has furnished us foreigners, and by so much tipped the scales against Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

The figures also show that while there has been a decline in the birth-rate among Americans there is an increase in the birth-rate among the foreigners from the time of their settlement in America. In Massachusetts, where the average number of children to the American family is 2.7, the average for the foreign family is 4.5, which is above the birth-rate for these foreigners in their home land.*

* The reader is especially referred to Professor Commons' excellent volume, *Races and Immigrants in America.*

The fertility of the American Negro race is an example and a warning to Anglo-Saxon Americans. Booker Washington says, " There are some people among the members of my race who complain about the hardships which the Negro suffers, but none of them yet, so far as I know, has ever recommended ' race suicide ' as a solution to the race problem." * This race helps to swell the proportion of alien to native population. " More children and more land " is the slogan of the Negro leader in the South to-day. Anglo-Saxon Americans may well take note of this. Doubtless it is in part as a result of this exhortation to acquire land that the 1910 census shows an increase in Negro farmers, a decrease in Negro farm laborers and an increase in white farm laborers. A voluntary surrender of a numerical ascendency for our race in favor of inferior races is a sin for which Anglo-Saxon men and women will have no excuse and for which their race will pay dearly.

The authorities referred to attribute this decline in race increase to the crowding of Americans by foreigners and industrial conditions created by their presence. This is true, no doubt, but it is not the whole truth. There is another cause for this low birth-rate among Americans. It so happens that

* *The Outlook,* May 6, 1911, p. 23.

this decline in birth-rate is not only, as is pointed out by the writers referred to, in the period and the part of the country to which immigration has been the greatest, but it has been in the period and section of our country in which we have had most agitation of the doctrine of "woman's rights," and the "emancipation of woman."

We believe that none of the authorities name this agitation as a cause for this national calamity, but undoubtedly it is one of the causes and a significant one. Professor Commons cites census reports to show that the trail of "race suicide" is more plainly marked "across the Eastern and Northern States, running through New England, rural New York, Northern Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan, parts of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa" * than anywhere else.

Undoubtedly in parts of the South this nefarious crime is perpetrated, but the same author says that, "Throughout the South the reduction in size of families and the postponement of marriages have not occurred to any great extent." † Why not? If this evil is due to the crowding of the Anglo-American by an alien race, we should look for it here where the Negroes crowd the white population

* *Races and Immigrants in America*, by Professor John R. Commons, p. 207. † *Ibid.*

in certain states as it is not crowded by Europeans in New England. Indeed, if such crowding and consequent industrial conditions were the only causes, we should have expected the evil to have appeared first and attracted large attention in certain parts of the South. There must, then, be some other cause, and that we have suggested above. The popular cry for woman's rights has turned woman's thoughts and ambitions from the home and home-making, from domestic life and the honors of motherhood, to the masculine positions and distinctions; and as a consequence, the American race, and with it American religion, have declined wherever that social philosophy has prevailed significantly.

Notwithstanding the millions of foreigners who settled in the North and the inconsequential number who settled in the South, the increase in white population for the first decade of the century, 1900-1910, was, according to United States census, 24.4 per cent., while outside of the South, notwithstanding the large birth-rate of foreigners, the increase in white population was but 21.7 per cent. There is a tremendous significance in these figures for the Anglo-Saxon statesman.

The evil, then, like all national evils, is essentially a moral one and religion is its cure. If we consent to the substitution here of an inferior

race for a superior one, the world will lose the civil, moral and religious principles for which the race and nation stand, and which are indispensable to the fulfilment of our national mission. Neither our political democracy nor our evangelical religion can long survive the downfall of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Democracy without evangelical religion tends toward socialism; and Christianity without democracy tends toward ecclesiasticism. To save ourselves, therefore, from political chaos on the one hand and from religious hierarchy on the other, we must at all hazard insure the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race and evangelical Christianity in the life of the nation. Thus we started on our national career and so we must continue.

But the weight of facts already given force upon us the conviction that unless evangelical religion fails to fulfil its mission for the nation, Anglo-Saxon supremacy with the perpetuity of democracy in the United States is assured. The nation's achievements to the present point are the achievements of this supremacy under the inspiration of evangelical religion. Democracy has survived to the present and been carried steadily forward to a fuller and completer exemplification in the life of the nation. The providence of God has attended the process. Refugees of hope have come hither under

guard and they have not been disappointed; they have found here a place where their rights and freedom are guaranteed. If the compelling and constraining impulses which have produced the results already witnessed can be kept in healthy exercise we shall still move forward to a more perfect, harmonious and easy-running democracy. The gates of the nation's future were never wider open nor the opportunity for the realization of its ideals more inviting or encouraging. Indeed, our opportunities are so great that the thought of meeting them should steady us and cast over the whole nation a serious sense of responsibility.

Dr. Albert Shaw says, "We in the United States must accept the responsibility of a great place among the nations. We must be strong for the sake of our destiny, our dignity, our influence and our usefulness. The fact that we have a beneficial theory of progress for the Western Hemisphere republics, which we sometimes exemplify in practical emergencies, and which we call the Monroe Doctrine, cannot divest us of one single shred of the responsibility that may fall to us in helping to work out in an orderly and peaceful way the problems of the Pacific Ocean and the Farther East. It was our mission to introduce Japan to the nations of the Western world, and our relations with Korea and China

have been exceptional in their friendliness and in their power to bear fruit in future offices of usefulness and good-will." *

Cecil Rhodes, the great South African diamond king, some fifty years ago, became possessed with the conviction that his Anglo-Saxon race was assigned a great destiny by Providence. This added seriousness to the problems of his personal life, and he began to inquire thus: "If there be a God, and if He cares anything about what I do, then I think I shall not be far wrong in concluding that He would like me to do pretty much as He is doing—to work on the same lines toward the same ends. Therefore, the first thing for me to find out is . . . What is He doing in this world; and what are His instruments, what lines He is going on, and what He is aiming at? The next thing then for me to do is to do the same thing, use the same instruments, follow the same lines, and aim at the same mark to the best of my ability." He studied the yellow, black and white races, and decided that the primacy belonged to the English-speaking white race, both by reason of racial characteristics and distribution. The yellow and black races are in masses and are contentedly stationary. Believing that God must get His work done mainly through

* *Political Problems of American Development*, p. 249.

the white man, he dedicated his fortune to the one thing of fitting picked Anglo-Saxon young men for leadership in God's enterprises. There was statesmanship and something approaching inspiration in his scheme, and, withal, a great lesson for evangelical Christians and patriotic Americans.

III

THE NATURE OF THE MISSION

We may now inquire into the nature of the nation's mission. Just what is the divine purpose in all this harmonious working together of Creation, Nature and Providence? What is the supreme end in view? It is important that all who help in any way to man the ship of state and guide her with her precious cargo on her course should know the answer to these questions. Certainly the Christian citizen cannot afford to miss the answer to them. He will want to go the way his Lord is going and will want the heavenly breezes of divine providence to waft him on his way.

It is evident that God's main and ultimate purpose in all this marvellous conspiracy of circumstance is religious. Anything else than this is unthinkable and would rule God out of His miracle. Material blessings are the gifts of God to the American people, but they are only contributory to God's main purpose. It cannot be thought that He would be at such pains to establish the autocracy of any nation and give it such supremacy simply to feed its vanity, its self-indulgence and egotism.

That He would make the very forces of Nature serve such base ends, Himself superintending the process, cannot rationally be maintained. No! God's purpose is religious and the mission of the nation is a religious mission. He has given us an exceptional measure of political freedom, temporal blessings and physical resources as aids to the realization of our Christian mission. This was the conviction of the Colonial Fathers and this the meaning of the history they made. The man who has not seen this as if in italics on every page of American history has read that history backwards. It is the plainest, the most unmistakable and important thing in the record. If the Great Master of history conducted the examination, no one could get a certificate for proficiency in American history who had not learned this. The sounding of the voice of God in our past national affairs is louder than the roar of cannon in any of our battles fought for independence and personal rights. To miss this is to miss the meaning of our history and to render that history unintelligible. Says Dr. A. B. Bruce: "All the arrangements of Providence, as they respect nations under 'the dispensation of the fulness of times,' are subsidiary to the world-wide proclamation of Christianity." *

* *The Providential Order,* by A. B. Bruce, p. 72.

That we hold in trust for mankind certain political principles no true American will deny. We are debtors to the politically oppressed of every land. A part of our task is the diffusion of the principles and spirit of democracy into those lands where the King, Emperor, Czar or Sultan arrogates common rights and represses the noblest aspirations of men. We shall do this indirectly, for the most part, and without seeking national prize, but none the less effectually. Already we have silently sifted the leaven of democracy into the dough of every empire on the globe. The distinguished British editor, Mr. W. T. Stead, has a book on *The Americanization of the World*, in which he has shown in both the process and the results "the part the Americans are playing in fashioning the world in their image." We have a political mission. This is presumed in the very claim which we make to personal rights. Our fathers set up the claim against Great Britain that they were vested with "inalienable" rights. Our rights are God-given and common to all men. We are not only authorized of God to claim them, but to proclaim them. It is our duty to help all men to realize these common rights.

But while thus recognizing our political trusteeship and duty, we affirm that our great mission as

a nation is religious. This is the lesson taught us by that providence which has been over us. Our mission is first religious because the Kingdom of God is of first consideration, whether by the individual or the State, and because we cannot fulfil our political mission without the help which may be derived from a virile and aggressive religious life in the nation. We can neither keep nor bequeath democracy without evangelical religion. Evangelical religion is necessary in order to preserve democracy in our land and prepare for it in other lands.

Again while our political duty is, in large part, indirect, our religious duty is direct. Our political influence upon the world will be proportioned to our religious faithfulness. The last is the life of the first. Evangelical religion produced, has preserved, and will propagate democracy. Democracy has nowhere outrun evangelical religion. If we will take care of evangelical religion, democracy will take case of itself. If we seek first the Kingdom of God democracy will be added—and multiplied.

I

Therefore, in describing the nature of our mission we may as well be brief and confine ourselves to the fundamental, creative and dynamic in that mis-

sion; namely, our religious task. This takes precedence of every other duty that devolves upon the patriotic American citizen. No allegiance to party, political platform, or personal candidate can rank with this, and there is a lapse of patriotism when these minor considerations are given priority.

Could there be any more logical deduction from circumstances and providences than that God desires in a peculiar way the early and speedy saving of this nation? Is there any other explanation of all His wonderful dealings with us? Could there be any more flagrant departure from the ideals upon which the nation was founded than to suffer godlessness to rule and godless measures to prevail in this land? Could there be a sadder frustration of the divine plans and of the will of the American colonizers and patriots than the failure here of pure religion? The failure of evangelical religion in America will mark the failure of the experiment, not only of Protestantism, but of republic-making under evangelical religious ideals. The success here of Protestant religion and Christian democracy will vindicate the faith and justify the sacrifices of our fathers.

Then our mission as Christian citizens is missionary, and the missionary duty of the American people is first of all to make this a Christian civili-

zation. God cannot fulfil His purpose through America and beyond America until His purpose is fulfilled in America. If His purpose miscarries here, His programme cannot be carried out anywhere. God started after the Anglo-Saxon race and civilization when He went with Paul and Barnabas to Philippi, and He will not be satisfied with anything less or with any substitute for that prize.

This nation is fast becoming a world-power and such a world-power as the world never saw before. It does not promise to be as unrivalled as ancient Rome, but its power will be more significant and beneficent if we do not disappoint Providence. Rome conquered the world by leadership in war; we shall conquer it by leadership in peace. Rome killed men; we must save them. Rome gave the world law; we must give the world the gospel. Rome's power and the dread of it covered the known world of that day; our nation's influence and its principles of democracy already penetrate the actual world and are disturbing the old order everywhere. The pulse of democracy, with its heart in the religious life of America, is sending the spirit of free government into the body politic of the world. As this nation has expanded to the West it has sent before it waves of influence which for fifty years have been breaking upon the shores

of the sleeping East; and these waves will soon be mighty billows. The commerce and social and political ideas of America have followed the tides of evangelical missions.

An American social scientist, Professor Commons, has said that "The commerce of the Pacific will be the commerce of the world." That commerce will be pre-eminently American in spite of temporary set-backs. It will be on the Pacific and not on the Atlantic that America will recover her maritime prestige. With the opening of the West we began to decline as a maritime nation on the Atlantic. We shall, in the course of our Westward progress, recover what we have lost in the East. The cargoes which we shall put to sea from our gulf ports for the East, through the Panama Canal, and from our Pacific harbors, must be made to bear the stamp of Christian genuineness and thus be turned into silent witnesses for the Christianity of the nation. Already American oil lights every house in the Orient, and it is to be the pillar of fire to American commerce which is to penetrate China. If this commerce is characterized by honest goods and square dealing we shall advertise the sincerity of our Christian profession, and the missionary who has found open doors will find open hearts for his message. Not until our com-

merce, our sailors, our army, our navy, our diplomats, our tourists, our literature, re-enforce the foreign missionary shall the latter meet with that success in heathen lands for which we have prayed. So long as everything else the heathen sees of us contradicts the message of our missionaries and denies the power of the gospel they preach, the missionaries' work, however faithful, must fall short in its results.

Less than any nation can we live to ourselves. We are visiting and are visited by every nation. We have entered upon an international career and cannot turn back. We must follow our oil, our cotton, our iron and steel to the markets of the world, if for no other reason we would enter them. We have more corn, wheat, cotton, cattle, swine and mules than any country in all the world. We grow three-fourths of the cotton which clothes all the nations of the earth. We have two and one-half times as many horses as France, Germany and all the British Isles. During the past decade we have outdistanced England in iron and coal production and will soon lead the world in manufacture. Within the present century the United States "will unquestionably dominate, economically, all the Asiatic countries bordering on the Pacific and will be playing in the world the part played by

England until these latter days. This is its destiny, a destiny resting in a large part, to be sure, on its magnificent gifts bestowed by Nature; but resting, too, on moral foundations. If the United States is the richest country in the world in iron, in copper and in coal, it is also the richest in human energy." * Says Mr. Roosevelt: "We have no choice, we people of the United States, as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by Fate [Providence?], by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill."

America is destined to be the seat of empire for the Anglo-Saxon race, and here that race is to give the world an example of that democracy which holds the guiding political principles of the future. Green, the English historian, says: "In the centuries that lie before us the primacy of the world will lie with the English people. English institutions, English speech, English thought, will become the main features of the political, social and intellectual life of mankind. . . . In the days that are at hand the main current of our people's history must run along the channels, not of the Thames or

* *United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Pierre Leroy Beaulieu, p. xxvi.

the Mersey, but of the Hudson and Mississippi." Already the majority of those citizens of the world who use the English language are in the dominions of Uncle Sam and not of John Bull. Says Mr. W. T. Stead, "As John said of Jesus, so Britain may say to the United States, 'He must increase, but I must decrease.'"

New York has a larger population than Canada; Pennsylvania larger than Scotland; Illinois larger than Ireland; Texas and Missouri each larger than Australia, while any one of a dozen states exceeds Wales in the size of its census.

With all our immigration and the presence among us of ten millions of Negroes, the Anglo-Saxon race can maintain its supremacy in America, and maintaining it, very shortly exercise the dominant national influence over the whole world, not dictatorially nor by force, but by the stronger influences of great principles exemplified and the American spirit behind them. More than any other nation, we can make the world's programme for future generations. With enlightenment and civilization the world grows towards democracy, and we are the pioneers in the democratic science of government. Ours is distinctly the place of leadership. What a responsibility! Long ago Alexander Hamilton said: "It is ours to be either the grave in which

the hopes of the world shall be entombed or the pillar of cloud which shall pilot the world forward." It is this union of our destiny with the destiny of the world that accounts for God's great concern for us as a nation.

Think, if you can, what it would mean to have one saved nation, one whole race of men who in private, domestic and public life, in social customs and morality, in business, commercial, industrial, political and foreign relationships should exemplify Christianity before the world! If we should make it in fact, what Justice Brewer declared it to be in tradition and statute, a Christian nation, who can estimate the missionary significance of such an achievement? And if this nation should be saved just as all the world is becoming one neighborhood, and the principles of true democracy and New Testament Christianity should prevail in city government, in national politics, in questions of capital and labor, in the business and pleasures of the nation, how rapidly the effect would be seen! What a solution of mission problems and what impetus to the Kingdom of God that would be! How that testimony to the religion of Jesus would answer all objections to missionaries in the lands of alien and hostile creeds! How it would command the respect and attention and provoke the

investigation of other nations! How it would hasten the day of the Lord!

The speedy salvation of the lost in America is the supreme achievement in the missionary strategy which looks to the evangelization of the world. Dr. Austin Phelps said: "Wisdom should lead us to look on this United States as, first and foremost, the chosen seat of the enterprise for the world's conversion. Forecasting the future of Christianity as the statesman forecasts the destiny of nations, we must believe that it will be what the future of this country is to be. As goes America, so goes the world in all its moral welfare." *

This is the hour when not a minute should be lost in the work of speeding the evangelization of America. It is the hour when every agency of the churches, pulpit and pew, men and women, by public testimony and personal work; when schools and culture, business and commerce, individual genius and social graces; when art, literature and money, should be laid without reservation on the altar for the decisive achievement of saving the Anglo-Saxon race and the evangelical gospel in order to fulfil God's purpose to save all nations. This is the mission of America. This is the meaning of being an American citizen.

* Introduction to Dr. Strong's *Our Country*, p. 14.

II

The mission of the Anglo-Saxon people, as they themselves are saved, is to save the evangelical gospel. Without immodesty the saved Anglo-Saxon can speak of "the gospel of the glory of the blessed God which was committed to my trust." * In a very true sense the people of this nation are "stewards of the mysteries of God." † If we are not found faithful, evil consequences must follow. America is the only land which affords great hope for this gospel of salvation. In no other land under the sun are the champions of evangelical religion sufficient in number and in a position favorable to save it. Everywhere else the gospel is either in the slow and feeble stages of initiation depending upon re-enforcements from Anglo-Saxon Christendom, or the battle has already turned against it and it has lost or is losing the fight daily. In other lands where Christianity is the dominant religion the majority are devoted to ecclesiastical systems and not to the defence of the evangelical gospel. The call of the hour and of circumstance is to make sure our strongholds here. We cannot re-enforce our hard-pressed allies, advance our outposts nor withstand the encroachments upon our rear if we do not renew our forces and

*1 Tim. 1 : 11. †1 Cor. 4 : 1.

constantly replenish our magazines. We cannot defeat our swarming enemies nor save the people if we do not save the gospel. Satan is waging his campaign against the salvation of man and the saving truth. By both sin and heresy he is advancing upon the race. He commands one army for the purpose of overcoming men with temptation and evil, and another to capture them with false religion and error.

In our optimism we must not forget that Christianity has already, and long ago, become extinct in territories where once it flourished and that the process goes on in many lands to-day. Egypt and the Valley of the Nile are the graveyards of Christian institutions. Much of the Nile Valley was once very probably more thoroughly evangelized than is America to-day. Sin revived and heresies arose; the power of resistance was broken and defeat followed. Ninety-two per cent. of the population in that territory to-day is Mohammedan. "Cyrene which furnished a Simon to bear the Cross and a Lucius to be one of the first heroes of salvation passed out of Christianity" (W. T. Whitley). Syria and North Africa in their darkness warn us that if we are to take the world for Christ we should take care not to lose what we have once taken. What is the meaning of the "Dark Ages,"

but a lapse of evangelical Christianity in Europe and Asia after centuries of most glorious triumphs?

History repeats itself. The glory of the saving truth is so obscured by wrappings of heathen philosophies, heathen customs, heathen rites and forms in all non-Anglican countries of the globe that the saving gospel is scarcely recognizable and whole civilizations are left without power to regenerate the individual and rejuvenate society. Palestine is no longer the "Holy Land." The Holy City and all of ancient Judea and Samaria and Galilee, known and cherished for a thousand sacred associations with our divine Lord and the men who knew and loved Him, are to-day almost as destitute of the gospel which Jesus created and His disciples preached as they were when Jesus was born in Bethlehem. Seeds of heresy and superstition have been sown broadcast in the fields early cultivated by Christianity, and anti-Christian institutions flourish on the ruins of early Christianity.

Even in Protestant and Anglo-Saxon England the same sad story is in process. The tendency to Rome in the High Church circles is unmistakable and is receiving the attention of all who study the signs of the times from the view-point of evangelical Christianity. Ministers have assumed the name of priest and in gowns and orders, with

candles and crosses, rites and genuflections, ceremonies and forms, faced toward Rome and are drilling for the reception ceremonies at the Vatican. The hand of oppression is laid upon those who preach an evangelical gospel and they are made to pay tribute for the support of men who deny it. It is a matter for gratulation that American Episcopalians are more evangelical than their brothers in England and that they are thoroughly missionary, and that even in the Established Church there are some who lament evident tendencies. The superb minority in England who are "valiant for the truth," many of them even glorying in the spoiling of their goods in order to bear distinct witness to that truth, deserve our admiration. But hope for the truth is in America. The only hope for the evangelical gospel elsewhere is in re-enforcement from America.

American Christianity must not only continue to project its influence towards the West for conquest of the East, but it must now guard its rear from encroachments of the enemy of the gospel, and must send back relief to the gallant few who are endeavoring to save the gospel in the Anglo-Saxon civilizations of Europe. If the gospel of Spurgeon and Maclaren is to survive the twentieth century uncontaminated, and have unfettered freedom to

demonstrate its value to the civilizations of Europe, it will be due to the help and heartening which American Christians give those in Europe whose hearts are as our hearts. If we are to cover the world with the gospel of Christ as the waters cover the deep, we must not only open up irrigation channels in China, but we must reopen them in Europe, and American Christianity must keep a full reservoir until the tides shall meet and again revive the land of our Lord. That Christianity which came out of Palestine coursing through Europe must continue its course to the West until it returns to Palestine, but the dried channels consequent upon an empty reservoir in the field of early Christian conquest must be flushed and the decaying civilizations revived by the waters of life which we shall cause to flow back along the course of Christian history. It is a matter for encouragement that the lovers of evangelical truth on both sides of the Atlantic are coming to understand this and considering the terms of co-operation.

We have begun to repeat Asiatic and European Christian history in America. New England is duplicating, with variation, the story of Old England. False beasts now stand over the cradle of evangelical Christianity in America. One of the most difficult tasks which now face the evangelicals

of America is that of regaining lost territory even in the New World. The forces which have always followed upon the heels of Christianity in its Westward march have stealthily crept upon our rear in America and established themselves where once we were strong. The re-evangelization of New England is a task far more difficult than was its original evangelization. Compared with the early missionary enterprise, a thousand men to one and a thousand dollars to one will be required to retake that which we have lost. Religious heresies have become institutionalized in New England and missionary work now involves, not only a conflict with sin, but with respectable religions. There is a great difference between the work of winning men from sin and the task of winning men and women, even whole communities, from shrewd imitations of Christianity and substitutes for it. It is easier to save a sinner than it is to disillusion a victim of some modern heresy. The very institutions which foster false religions throw about their devotees barriers to our approach. Then, too, the rebuke and exposure of a recognized religious teacher, however deadly his heresy, are more difficult than to refute an open defence of sin. This is the day of lax consciences concerning "the form of sound words." The exposure of heresy is an un-

popular business, and yet there were never so many heresies to be exposed.

Evangelical Christianity, while the best thing in the world for any people, itself prepares the way for and makes easy the introduction of false religious ideas. The evangelical principles pulverize and fertilize the social soil. They do this in two ways: By the very genuineness of evangelical religion there are created a reverence, respect and courtesy for religion. A man's religious profession is treated with deference wherever evangelical Christianity has taken a deep hold on the popular mind. Religion becomes a sacred thing, a thing to be reverenced if a man has experienced it truly. In the second place, evangelical Christianity proclaims liberty of conscience and has, in America, secured for every man the right to profess and proclaim religious convictions or preferences. We have secured this privilege in as full a measure for the heretic as for the orthodox.

Hence it is that evangelical Christianity makes conditions favorable for religious heresy. We break up the fallow ground and prepare social soil for the unmolested planting and the rapid growing of heresy, however dangerous it may be. In recent years there have been introduced among us, and we have seen grow to great popular favor, religious fads

which could have flourished in no other land on the globe. Some of them have been so monstrous, some so unintelligent and some such travesties on both common sense and propriety as to have awakened disgust if they had been called by any other name than religion. But their authors were shrewd and called these heresies "religion" and so found a defence behind the religious reverence of the people and a protection under the religious liberty which evangelical Christians had established. If some of these things had been classed as schools of medicine, for instance, the Government would long ago have suppressed them. The founding of these schools of heresy was made possible by evangelical Christianity, and wherever the fences are not kept up our most fruitful fields are thus liable to fall into the hands of the enemy. Nowhere in the world can the imitations of Christianity find such favorable conditions for introduction and so quickly flourish as in a territory where evangelical Christianity has prepared a conscience, a democratic atmosphere and a religious soil. Of course, not all of these heresies are new. Roman Catholicism and Unitarianism, not having any close resemblance to the evangelical gospel which Paul preached, early found here a field prepared for them and entered into this veritable garden of

evangelical religion and achieved results which are exceedingly gratifying to them. Says Professor Commons: "The three New England States which have given their religious and political character to Northern and Western States are themselves predominantly Catholic." * Romanism is propagating its kind in America through priests, nuns and political organizations, while Unitarianism seeks to propagate its deadly half-truths through the printed page. Scholarly men, who in Boston and elsewhere deliver their essays to mere handfuls of listeners, send them out in the garb of handsome volumes and many of our preachers take unawares these elegantly-written books as model sermons, not knowing that they never drew the masses, and frequently overlook the fact that they contain heresies which everywhere put a blight on the evangelical life of the people. The task of rooting out these heresies, once they are sown, is a far greater one than that of keeping up the fences from the first.

We must save the truth both by sowing it and by keeping the fields in which we have sown it.

III

Again, it must be the purpose of Providence that the amazing wealth of this nation, its unequalled material resources, should contribute to the advance-

* *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 217.

ment of religion in the world. It is, therefore, our mission as a nation to make these resources conserve this end. God's providings are a part of His Providence and keys to His purpose. He has a great work for us to do and has supplied us with great implements. No one ever undertook an enterprise of such magnitude as God and His people have on their hands. We are to plan and to labor on a scale commensurate with God's plans and so ample that, when our work is finished, the announcement may be made that "the kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord, and of His Christ." The scheme contemplates the extension of His reign until "all nations shall call Him happy" and "every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord to the glory of God the Father." That is the biggest enterprise ever launched on this planet and will need, before it is completed, such resources as were never demanded for any other business that ever engaged mankind. There can be no doubt that when God created the wealth of this nation and when He, by a signal Providence, put it into the hands of Anglo-Saxon and evangelical Christians, He contemplated the needs of this enterprise and purposed the use of these resources for its conduct. One of the great duties of the hour for the Christian people of America is

to conserve these resources for the interests of the Kingdom. We shall need them before we finish our campaign. To lose a base so rich in material resources and so strategic in position is to invite defeat. Says a recent writer: "There is a principle of warfare which teaches that a general should occupy and hold positions which he expects to need in a forthcoming battle while occupation can be effected without too great a sacrifice." *

In 1910 the United States spent $470,000,000 on its army and navy and Great Britian spent $345,000,000. What might we have done with these vast amounts in extending evangelical religion and Anglo-Saxon civilization? Says Mr. H. B. Folk: "One first-class battleship costs $10,000,000 and a million dollars a year to maintain. Its life is about fifteen years, and then it is obselete. The Congressional Library at Washington, the finest of its kind in the world, cost only about two-thirds as much as a battleship, and requires only three-fourths as much a year to maintain it. One shot from one of the big guns, including deterioration of the weapon, costs $1,700—equal to three and two-thirds years of a workingman's wages, or five and one-third years of a woman school-teacher's salary, or a four-years' college education."

* James Edmund Dunning, *North American Review*, 1911.

A well-informed magazine writer tells us that "The amount of gold which we, as a nation, pay for pure luxuries without which we could live in all well-being, is *fourteen and a half times the amount* of gold which we receive from other nations for our sales of breadstuffs. . . .

"Perhaps as much *as a billion and a half of dollars* in gold goes out of America every year in one way and another—a billion one hundred million to pay for our importations from other countries, one hundred million more in cash shipped back to their homes by immigrants,* a hundred million in interest payments on American securities held abroad, another hundred million in profits from American enterprises paid out in dividends to foreign stockholders and others, and, finally, at least another hundred million left in Europe and other parts by our travellers, the most restless and the most liberal in the world." † These figures indicate both the resources of the American people and their ability to grasp the magnitude of things.

We do not stay to comment upon the significance of so vast an outlay for these purposes, but the time must come when we will not only think it a

* The Immigrant Commission, with better opportunity to know the facts, gives the figures at $300,000,000.

† James Edmund Dunning, in *North American Review*, March, 1911, p. 439.

job more worth while to save men than to kill them, but that the enterprise of saving the world is a bigger one than killing our enemies; and, too, that we can better guard the doors of the nation by an exhibition of the Christian virtues than by an exhibition of our fighting strength. Certainly, the Christian enterprise deserves a full share of the wealth with which Providence has blest the nation. The kingdom should share with the republic the revenue of God's free bounty; though not through the patronage of the State but by the practice of individual stewardship.

God wrought in solitude to create, prepare and preserve for the Anglo-Saxon race a continent of wealth such as was never given to any other nation and now calls upon us to subdue the earth and consecrate these mighty resources of sea, mountain and mine, of forest, valley and plain to the true needs of man. The wealth of the land, it would seem, was especially intended for the Anglo-Saxon. This continent was, for millenniums, the Almighty's preserve, awaiting the appearance of the Anglo-Saxon race and the evangelical religion. The few Indians who roved the country did not touch the real wealth. Even Europeans were allowed to walk in ignorance over great wealth which God kept a secret from them. The fabulous gold of California

was not revealed to the Spanish, but the secret was let out almost immediately upon the acquisition of that territory by the United States.

The use Americans make of this great wealth will prove to be their honor or lasting shame. We shall either use it for the good of humanity and the glory of God, or we shall use it to debauch the highest ideals of man and the nation. Senator Beveridge asks: "What are we going to do with that power? We are going to conserve it, save it, regulate it, of course. But what for? To get fat upon? No! Merely to vaunt ourselves? No! To have it said of us that we are 'unrivalled' or any other word of vain-glory? No! What is all this power and dominion and wealth for, then? Let any American search his soul and he will answer 'For righteousness, for justice . . . for the good of all the world.'" * From his winter quarters at Newburgh, Washington made a trip into the interior West and later wrote of his profound impression "of the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we had wisdom to improve them." At so early an hour as that in our American history wise men began to see that there was danger in this wealth to a young nation.

* *Americans of To-day and To-morrow,* pp. 42-50.

If our national wealth is allowed to pamper, to vulgarize and debauch; if it is allowed in the hands of the conscienceless to purchase human rights, profane the sanctities of religious institutions upon which the nation was founded: if, I say, we yield to the *laissez nous faire* of the plutocrats or the plebeians of the day and allow such perversion of our birthright and stewardship, we shall be found guilty as a nation was never found guilty before God and false to our brothers in every land and future age. Yet are we not already face to face with this very spectacle? Have not our people concluded that the earthly favors of God to us as a nation are given simply as a means to a fuller gratification of the flesh? Have we not at least supinely allowed a few men to corner God's gift and humanity's bounty and thereby pervert the ways of Providence? We have, in America, one corporation, the Steel Trust, with revenues equal to those of our Federal Government, and there are forty-seven other corporations among us with combined revenues equal to the combined revenue of the forty-seven states composing the Union. Some individuals in these corporations may give largely if they do not give wisely of their means, but certainly the Almighty will not validate the acts of American citizens who allow such monopoly of the

things God meant for the nation and to be used for the good of the world.

In 1910 our nation imported $140,000,000 of luxuries, not an article of the whole purchase absolutely necessary to life or comfort of our people. To this incomprehensible sum sent out of the country for things with which to pamper self and surfeit life we must add that other hundred million scattered over Europe and the world by American tourists, if we would realize to what extremes Americans are going in self-indulgence.

These figures indicate our surplus wealth. What do they signify of our ability to finance the Kingdom of God and to support the enterprise of bringing our own nation, and through it all nations, into the inheritance of life which is in Christ Jesus? No other people are so able as we to assume the responsibility of giving prevalence and permanence to institutional Christianity over the world. God has given us great means because He has given us a great mission, and both involve individual and national responsibilities of the gravest sort. The man who surpasses his neighbors in making money simply acquires a larger part of God's estate and, therefore, a larger stewardship and weightier responsibility. He has, thereby, assumed the obligation to take a larger share in the great enterprise,

and dare not subvert this wealth from its ordained purpose.

"If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe;
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the law;
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

"For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not Thee to guard;
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord."

As a nation, we have already let slip from us a part of that which undoubtedly was meant for the nation. Providence seems to have decided that the whole continent of America should be the inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the United States. There were, in the beginning of the nation, wise men who could read the divine tokens and follow the course which Providence indicated. They secured to us the great Atlantic seaports, the Louisiana territory, the Oregon territory, California and Texas, as a part of our national domain; but when the day came and the opportunity was ripe for the nation to acquire such part of Canada as would certainly have shortly given us the whole of it and so made Anglo-Saxon

democracy the master of the North American continent, our politicians of that day could not read the signs of the times and, in their blindness, rejected the great wheat country contained in all of Canada west of the province of Ontario. Says Dr. Albert Shaw of Mr. Seward, whose hatred for the South and whose spirit of revenge toward England for fancied favors to the Confederacy, cost the nation so dearly: "Mr. Seward had, no doubt, a capacity for large views and at a fortunate moment he improved the opportunity to buy Alaska from Russia. The British Government, in token of good-will and to repair all errors of the past, offered to give us its great territories of the Northwest, which would have added almost as much to our domain as the entire extent of the United States." * But a narrow, sectional spirit and the fevered passions of a national leader cost the country that part of Canada which to-day is drawing away from us thousands of our most desirable citizens and millions of our money, enriching the meanwhile Canada and Great Britain.

Previous to this a home missionary prevented the United States Congress from trading great Northwestern holdings for a cod-fishery. If another statesman imbued with the Spirit of Jesus should

* *Political Problems in American Development*, p. 230.

have appeared in our national councils at this time, perhaps the Stars and Stripes would to-day float over this continent from Land's End to Key West, as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the Anglo-Saxon democracy and evangelical Christianity would hold the keys to the greatest storehouse of wealth God ever offered to any people and would, through the centuries until Jesus returns, be able to finance the enterprise for giving His gospel to the world.

IV

As an antidote to our pride and a warning against the misuse of our enormous wealth we may ask, Why does God want to save America? and Why does He want Americans to save His truth? and Why does He want the saved who have the truth to save this national wealth? Is it for America's sake? Is that the bigness and the end of the divine purpose? Is that the meaning of all these special providences manifested on our behalf? We will flatter ourselves if we allow ourselves to believe that we are, for our own sakes, the favorites of God. It is frankly admitted that God covets the Anglo-Saxon race and the American civilization, but it is denied that God wants us simply for our good. He covets the race, both for

what He can do for it and do through it. We must not forget that missions are a world enterprise, that God means to save every nation. He moves away from the East to the West not through indifference to the East, but that Christianity may, in its progress, gather the mighty resources necessary for the imperial task of world conquest.

We must make ourselves understood at this point. In pleading for home missionary re-enforcement we are not raising the cry of a provincialist. We fall short of God's mark if we aim at anything less than the salvation of the whole world. Saying that we must be home missionary, we are far from saying that we are not to be foreign missionary, or foreign missionary in any small way. There is no deeper conviction in me than that we need in our churches, in our denomination, in our Christianity, a thorough and symmetrical missionary development. The man who minimizes the importance of any department of missions leaves himself without ground for the strongest appeal for any department of missions. If we should make an appeal for home missions which makes the duty of foreign missions, of state missions, of local church work, of Christian education, or any other department of Christian duty rest more lightly on the Christian

conscience, we should sow sentiments which would eventually undermine the home missionary appeal. Every man does this for his missionary cause when he makes a partial or a biased appeal for it, whatever his cause may be. We cannot create and grow a large, genuine and persevering missionary spirit by appealing to a prejudiced sentiment. No one department of our work, as we name them, home, state and foreign missions, for instance, covers the whole world. Each department cultivates a more or less local field, whether the particular field be on this side of the globe or the other, and by whatever name it is called. Neither department embraces the whole world. And Jesus set us to the task of world-missions. We must, therefore, be the friends of all these departments of Christian operation if we would fulfil our commission. Though he may not think himself so, a man whose appeal is wholly for foreign missions may be as truly provincial as one who is all for home missions, for his field does not comprehend the whole world.

We would not in our appeal have home missions feed that narrow missionary sentiment, if, indeed, it is missionary, which argues that because our cities at home reek with iniquities on every hand, the lost and the sinning throng us, that in the slums

and among the "four hundred," in the legislative hall and Stock Exchange, unregeneracy holds high carnival and threatens the life of the nation, we should confine our effort to America. We admit these facts, as, indeed, no one can deny them, but we do not offer them as a reason why any man should withhold his contributions, his sympathy and encouragement from foreign missions. There was sin in Jerusalem, and in Jericho, and in Samaria, when Jesus told His disciples to cover the world with their missionary efforts. The world included the spot on which the disciples stood and every inch of territory between them and the "uttermost parts," and Jesus expected them to have sense enough to understand that, and He was not deceived in them. We shall never develop a great conscience concerning any one department of our missionary work except we develop a great conscience concerning all of it.

Neither near-sightedness nor far-sightedness is normal vision, whether it be physical or spiritual. And, if we have not misunderstood the doctors, abnormal vision, whether near-sight or far-sight, is due to a lack of vitality elsewhere as well as in the eye. A robust physical condition is a great aid to the correction of any local disorder. This is true in mission work. A really spiritual vitality

is essential to missionary life and is usually accompanied by a normal missionary vision; that is to say, a real vision which is neither far-sighted—exclusively foreign missionary, nor near-sighted—exclusively home missionary. The man who is a fanatic about one department of Christian work but has a doling sympathy for other departments, is likely to think himself possessed of a peculiar vision, but will probably be considered by others as an enthusiast. The hour is calling for missionary statesmen who can grasp and correlate in their programme all departments of the world-work according to their needs and rational relationships.

Saving America, saving the gospel in America, and the consecration of the wealth of America is preliminary work. It is the strategic thing to do but not the whole task; it is not the final, but the decisive achievement set before us.

IV

PERILS TO THE MISSION

I

If good men are to help the nation on its way to a fulfilment of its mission they must not only understand what that mission is, but they must recognize the real perils of the nation.

Perhaps no nation ever lived which had in its citizenship more expert specialists engaged upon its material problems than has the United States. One result of the democracy of America is that it produces students in political economy. There is much for these to do. The nation has its vexed questions of tax and tariff, of commerce and conservation, of internal improvements, national defence and international diplomacy. The presence among us of an available supply of men capable of dealing with these is undoubtedly a great national asset.

Our problems, however, are moral problems. Even those which seem to be most purely material have their roots in moral soil and in their most serious aspects present questions of morality and

righteousness. The principles upon which they will be settled, if finally settled at all, receive their fertilization from religion. They are more than economic political questions. All the matters which are vital to the nation's life are fundamentally questions for the Christian statesman; and while the nation needs its expert statisticians and authorities on commerce and tariff, much more it needs men who shall look to the roots of these matters. We need political economists who can see in the most material aspect of our national life the deep moral significance which lies there. President David Starr Jordan says of the tariff, which is as purely a commercial question as any with which our statesmen deal, "It is not that the tariff is a burden on our trade. We could pay the price of this. It is a burden on our freedom. It is a breach of the principle of equality before the law and as a final test all else is of relatively little importance. It is as a source of moral evil that the protective tariff must receive its condemnation." *

In order to see clearly that all our legislative questions have a deep and serious moral significance one has only to reflect that all questions of government are questions of law, and questions of law are necessarily questions of morality. Right

* *The Call of the Nation*, by David Starr Jordan, p. 31.

and wrong are involved in every act of the State. This is the very bottom foundation question of the republic. All that enters into the nation's life rests primarily upon this. The secular philosophy which denies the moral character of civil government is irrational. All law and all legislation presuppose right and wrong, justice and injustice, and not merely advantage and disadvantage, gain and loss. That which is immoral in individuals is immoral in the State, which is composed of individuals. The character of a thing is not changed by popular vote, nor by legislation. Rather does deliberate, voluntary and concurring sanction make evil the more monstrous. It is by blindness or indifference to the moral aspects of public duty that men do most to wreck the nation and defeat its high purposes and forfeit the protection of Providence.

There are, of course, some questions which are predominantly moral. The liquor business—in which the nation is a partner in its own ruin and sells the manhood of its citizens for revenue; the divorce evil—the nation's social scandal; the white slave traffic—the world's disgrace; murder—in which our nation leads the world; graft, bribery, and ballot-box fraud—the barter of thieves in the privileges of our freedom—these are questions for

the religious statesman. Quicker than anything else that affects the nation will these reach its heart if the right treatment is not found and applied.

The question affecting our national greatness is not how big the nation is going to be, how rich, nor how powerful, but how virtuous, how true. Neither the census report nor the export table is the criterion of our greatness, but the state of preservation among us of those principles and pillars of the republic which make character and on which our institutions were built: the Christian Sabbath as a holy day; a reverence for the Bible as the very Word of God; the family altar and the Church of God at the centre of education and training; and the type of social and national order which grow around these. The regnancy of these things in the life of the nation, now, as at first, is the only sure guarantee of the preservation of the civilization which they created. The overthrow or the defence of these by this generation will more certainly destroy or make strong the nation than the political success of any mere party that may ask the privilege of guarding our liberties. These are the pillars of the republic, and when they are removed it will topple to its fall and will carry with it, in one final catastrophe of irreparable dis-

aster, that democracy which these things have created.

That man or organization which despises or abuses these ancient institutions of the nation, declares plainly that he is not a patriot. He is a traitor. Such depredation is the worst political crime. That political organization which fosters no reverence for these things which created our liberties is the enemy of these liberties. Better open hostility to our institutions than indifference to these fundamental and creative principles; for so long as these survive, the American people of any time will have power to re-create the republic with its Constitution, civil order and political apparatus, but when these which created it are destroyed we shall fall the helpless victims of our folly, nothing left us with which to repair our loss. America's famous statesman and orator, Daniel Webster, said: "Our ancestors founded this government by their high veneration of the Christian religion." Notwithstanding such teachers and warnings, the foreign and godless elements in Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco and some other cities have already substituted the "continental Sunday" for our American Sabbath, and in many places the moral forces seem to have surrendered our national standard on the great issue which these have

raised. Throughout the nation the advocate of the saloon blasphemes the Word of God, and heaps contempt upon the churches of Christ, and yet politicians are found who, for the sake of office and the perquisites which are available, become the saloon's candidate, and with unblushing effrontery ask Christian citizens to support them.

We are to keep in mind that with the displacement of the Bible as moral authority and the desecration of the Sabbath, the nation does not only become un-Christian but un-American. Without the Christian Sabbath and a reverence for God's Word, we shall have nothing better than an imitation of the original American commonwealth. In the earliest and characteristic America these held a primacy. The men who produced the republic, and the greatest men the republic has produced, have seen clearly that these and the life they foster are necessary to the life and fruition of the nation. From his headquarters at Newburgh, in 1783, Washington sent his famous circular letter to the governors of the thirteen states. In the closing part of it he says: "I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in His holy protection; that He would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to

the government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that He would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation." * In his farewell address he used this wise and significant language: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of Justice? And let us, with caution, indulge the supposition,

* *Ideals of the Republic,* pp. 83-4.

that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience doth forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." * With a like insight John Quincy Adams saw that in our own as in "no other nation, is connected with one indissoluble bond the principles of civil government with the principles of Christianity."

The undevout statesman, the profane politician, the recreant official who connives at Sabbath-breaking, and the editor of the subsidized newspaper who uses broad and shallow platitudes in defence of lawlessness in the name of "personal liberty," are anomalous types of American public men and, as much as the grafter, are enemies of the nation and, if not speedily relegated, the precursors of its doom. When the demagogue's cry of "personal liberty" in defence of a public evil prevails and the moral conscience of our citizenship can no longer be aroused for effectual rebuke, the fate of democracy is sealed.

The principles of democracy, when applied consistently, give to every man the right to express, by ballot, his will, and then impose upon him the duty to abide by the will of the majority until its deci-

* *Ideals of the Republic*, pp. 136-37.

sion can be reversed by the same process which declared it. There is no grosser abuse of democracy than that which in these days is attempted under the plea of personal liberty. It is a contradiction of democracy to imperil the welfare and happiness of large numbers of men and women in the interest of a few selfish individuals. It is not democracy to undermine the foundations of democracy, which, according to Washington and Webster, were and are religious. It is not democracy to defeat the ends of democracy, which are, according to our national Declaration of Independence, popular "safety and happiness" and according to the Constitution, "the general welfare." To make one beer manufacturer a multi-millionaire and a hundred thousand men, women and children paupers is not democracy, and the man who pleads personal liberty in defence of a political régime which produces this result is not a democrat. The American who advocates liberty to defeat the public "safety and happiness" and "the general welfare" and make these difficult of attainment by any citizen, has become detached from his origin. Democracy does not give any one the liberty to do anything which will certainly harm any innocent fellow-citizen. These are primary postulates of democracy.

Dr. Delos F. Wilcox in his superb treatise on *The American City*, in discussing vice as a chief enemy of democracy and the right to control men in their idle hours when they so use their leisure as to enslave themselves to vice or endanger the moral welfare of others, has these thoughtful words: "To speak of the 'control of leisure' may appear to many suggestive of tyranny and out of harmony with the theory of democracy,—for does not democracy mean the guarantee to the individual of the right to control his own leisure as he sees fit? Here is the crux of the problem of vice. Here lies the struggle between the two ideas of freedom which, in their extremes, are interpreted as license and duty respectively. Democracy, as conceived in this book, lays emphasis on the latter. Freedom, to us, is the condition in which a man finds himself when he obeys the fundamental laws of life. Vice means anarchy or a jumble of petty despotisms. Drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution have no standing in court because they are in themselves incompatible with freedom and self-control, and it is a part of the doctrine of democracy that no man has the right to sell himself into bondage. To say that he is free to enslave himself would be a contradiction in terms. All repressive measures applied by the State or the mu-

nicipality to personal habits, not involving direct and tangible injury to others, rest on this theory of freedom." *

What a contrast with the makers of the nation are those men who would, under the plea of personal liberty, secure for the godless the opportunity to destroy the foundations. So clearly did the makers of the nation see the dependence of our national institutions upon religious foundations, that in 1789 Congress, by resolution, called upon the nation to pray "that God would grant to His Church the plentiful effusion of divine grace and pour out His Holy Spirit on all ministers of the gospel; that He would bless and prosper the mission of education and spread the light of Christian knowledge throughout the remotest corners of the earth." These words stand in striking contrast to some things our daily press calls democracy. Those editors who advocate or defend the rights of a set of men to do that which defeats original Americanism should not be surprised when good citizens suspect them of being subsidized by those whose evil business they promote.

Law is intended to give liberty to men who can govern themselves and to govern those who cannot. "Liberty limited by law is the formula of

* *The American City: A Problem of Democracy*, pp. 156-57.

civilization," says Dr. J. B. Gambrell. Liberty is the right of a man to do as he pleases so long as he does not please to harm any one nor interfere with another's enjoyment of the same sort of liberty. The law does not guarantee to a citizen the right to injure any one, not even himself. For a State to provide such liberty would be not only to act immorally, but to contrive its own destruction, since that which incapacitates its citizens, destroys that out of which the State is made. Laws which are enacted in wisdom have, for their end, the security of the State and the welfare of its citizens. Good citizens have the first claim on the lawmakers of the State.

Our American fathers were nearer to the cradle of democracy than we are to-day. They knew what we are in danger of forgetting: that democracy is from a religious source. Lincoln has often been quoted and not infrequently lauded for a political dictum of which he was not the father, but which was first written by Wycliffe in the introduction to his translation of the Bible, namely: "This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people." This is, perhaps, the original draft of the sentiment which Lincoln popularized, and which many small politicians and some big demagogues in our time have used for the pur-

pose of leading captive a popular vote in defeat of the principles enunciated by that Bible. Those words suggest the source and foundation of our democracy. Cast away that divine Book or destroy reverence for it, or secularize the day in which men most meditate upon it and expound it to their fellows, and whose quiet gives that Book its best opportunity to speak to men's consciences, and real democracy begins to die. Preserve these, and the nation and its institutions grow in strength and continue to perfect that democracy. If we cannot hold the heart and conscience of the nation to these things there is no power on earth, either legislative or military, that can preserve our liberties.

"The Bible created a democratic government by substituting the word duty for rights." * It was when the Bible was brought close enough to the conscience of men for them to see the distinction between these words that the divine rights of kings died and popular self-government arose. Governments had been for the rulers, but after Wycliffe translated the Bible and that Book had time to work its revolution in human society, the administration of government for the people and by the people was begun. It is this distinction between duty and right which marks the difference between

* Samuel Zane Batten, in *The Christian State.*

a republic and a monarchy. Oppressed by a government which fosters special privileges, Roger Williams and William Penn walked into the wilderness with Bibles under their arms, and immediately the forests began to fall away and a democratic republic began to spring up.

Not a colony was established in America in which religion was not the chief thing. The political democracy of New England was a natural and necessary corollary of the religious life which settled it. "The settlers came in congregations led by their favorite ministers."* These congregations were self-governing and their meeting-houses were the centre of their respective communities. A Colonial law of Massachusetts of 1635 runs thus: "It is agreed that hereafter no dwelling howse shall be above a myle from the meeting-howse in any new plantation without leave from the court." In Virginia religious life was intense, although there was at first a tendency towards aristocracy due to ecclesiastical influence. In the Established Church the vestrymen exercised power in the congregation and in the community. But Baptist and Presbyterian sentiment grew until, by the time Virginia was ready to help form the Union, their representa-

* *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, by John Fiske, Vol. II, p. 30.

tives exercised sufficient influence to have incorporated in our fundamental law a provision against the maintenance of any religious establishment by the government

The principles of the Bible were the original code of the republic and that Book is still the symbol of our liberties. It is fitting that it should be the conspicuous object at the inauguration of our presidents, governors, judges and the impanelling of our jurors. One of the public squares of Boston contains a noble statue of John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts. Standing erect with commanding mien, the old statesman-saint holds in one hand the Bible, in the other the charter of the colony. That is a fine symbolism in marble of Colonial American ideals.

Unquestionably the times are testing American institutions as they have not been tested since the day when French infidelity, entering into the privileges which Christian faith and broad-minded Christian statesmanship had procured, ran rampant in America for a season. The test of the nation's endurance is on moral lines. Macaulay pessimistically said: "As for America I appeal to the twentieth century"—our century. This is the day when he expected our institutions to be tried and to fall, not by the hand of a foreign foe, but

by internal forces created by our institutions themselves. A contemporary social scientist, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, informed and careful in his statements, has said, in an address before the Nineteenth Century Club: "We are witnessing to-day, beyond question, the decay—perhaps not permanent, but, at any rate, the decay—of republican institutions. No man in his right mind can deny it." With Bishop Galloway we feel that "These institutions will abide because founded on the truth of God, built by faith in the providence of God, and baptized with the blessings of God." * We may say with one who has sung our nation's hopes and perils:

"We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workman wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge, and what a heat,
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.

"Fear not each sudden sound and shock;
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest roar
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea:
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee."

* *Christianity and the Nation,* p. 21.

And yet there must be no foolish presumption, no false security, no tempting of Providence. "Political optimism is one of the vices of the American people." There is more than a grain of truth in Canning's words: "Providence itself can scarcely save a people who are not prepared to make a struggle for their safety."

"Righteousness exalteth a nation," and without righteousness it can neither be exalted nor preserved. Already our folly is apparent in some quarters. That Bible in the hand of Winthrop in Boston draws a contrast between what was and is in Massachusetts. The Bible was equal to the charter as Winthrop's manual for administering his office. He looked upon them as being indispensable to a well-ordered commonwealth.

As long as the citizens of Massachusetts felt that they could not dispense with that Book, Massachusetts was an example to the world. Lowell said: "New England was all meeting-house when I was growing up." But many meeting-houses in New England are deserted to-day and stand as gloomy monuments to the decline of the religious life of the State. A Frenchman has pointed out what Macaulay would, perhaps, take to be the beginning of the fulfilment of his prophecy. Says this visitor from the Old World: "The ancient home of the

Puritans, New England, is to-day the least American section of all the United States." We may add that not the least of its un-Americanism is its dearth of Puritan religion.

Bishop William Lawrence, of Massachusetts, quotes a leading English statesman who had recently visited America: "You were a religious people two generations ago. You had religion in your public schools, your churches and your homes. To-day you are shutting religion from your schools; I fear that your people do not go to church as they did and that your Sunday Schools are weak, and every one tells me that religion in the family is not what it was. Now, how long can you keep this up? You say with a spirit of blind optimism that the people were never so moral, and that everything will come out right. But what reason have you for saying or thinking so? How long can a river run after its sources are dried up?" This is candid comment, but the lovers of religion and democracy in America will do well to take it to heart. The words of de Tocqueville uttered a half century ago give us the contrast with this which these recent foreigners describe. "I never saw the like. I went over to see America and I found the people who, one day every week, closed the gateways of their traffic, left the hammer unused upon

the anvil, drew chains across the streets where the churches were and where worship was going on . . . a whole people resting and worshipping God."

We affirm, then, that the nation's perils are moral, and that the imperative need of the hour is that our citizenship shall recognize this and seek to find an effectual remedy for whatever perverts the ways of righteousness in the social, business or political life of our people.

II

In an inconsistent Christian citizenship lies another peril of the nation. The duty is upon the Christian men of America to redeem themselves from the current scandal of the "bad citizenship of good men." The church member must take the discrepancies out of his profession. He must be as good a man and citizen as he is a church member. His ballot must be as clean as his Bible. He must observe as good ethics in his voting as in his business, and he must be as scrupulous to discharge the duty he owes to the State as he is the duty he owes to his church.

The Christian citizens of America hold the balance of power and, with the non-Christian voter who shares their moral ideals, have the majority in most of our states and our national elections.

But, as a body, Christian men are not consistent when it comes to party politics. Many of them throw away with their ballots what they would die for in battle. They refuse to take by legal franchise what they pray for in their churches. The privilege of all good men to assert their will for the public good at the ballot-box is the ripest fruit which centuries of political growth have yielded. and yet good men throw it away as they would sour grapes.

> "There is a weapon swifter still,
> And surer than the bayonet,
> That executes a freeman's will,
> As lightning does the will of God."

The demagogue, that survival of the meanest citizen from the days of Aristotle who took his dimensions, walks into the arena of the political campaign and utters the party slogan and the prayer-meeting citizens are stampeded, and their prayers turned into an abomination in the sight of God. Good men allow "steerers" to vote them in the interest of policies determined in the saloon and subversive of the petitions made to God in the prayer meeting, and then return to the prayer meeting with jeremiads about the world getting worse.

With the inconsistent Christian who votes against his prayers is to be classed the Christian man who

does not vote at all. An ancient law pronounced those "infamous who in questions of infinite moment do not take sides." The saloon votes its connections, but the churches cannot match it with consistency. Men who abet the saloon and public gambling do not shrink from the responsibility of announcing their political platforms. Whenever a contest is on over the liquor business, the morning papers give good evidence that the friends of the business do not keep silent lest they should hurt their personal interests. That any church member, whether preacher, doctor, merchant, or political candidate, should be afraid to own his conscience, or fail to do so from indifference to moral issues, is a travesty upon American patriotism as well as American religion

But some men are so busy enjoying the fruits of other men's patriotism that they cannot see any danger to our institutions, either from Romish encroachments or the money-power of brewers and liquor dealers. It is the duty of brave men to tell the indifferent Christian citizen that he who shirks his duty to the State disobeys the command of his Lord. There is not a more positive command in the Scriptures than that which prescribes duty to the civil power. For the protest, "taxation without representation," we need to substitute another,

namely, that against sharing in the benefits of government without participation in the responsibilities of citizenship. There is no slave so menial as the American citizen who is such a slave to public opinion that he will not own and vote his moral conviction.

"We must be free or die who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold,
Which Milton held." *

The fear that, by being actively in politics, Christian citizens will get Church and State mixed up, is groundless. Indeed, that is the insincere cry of hypocritical and designing men. The truth is, Church and State must be kept separate in this land, not by the neglect, but by the participation of evangelical Christians in the politics of the day. We shall have Church and State mixed again as they have never been mixed before if we do not stand guard. Men who believed in the principles of evangelical Christianity secured the divorce of Church and State; we must now see that there are no more nuptials.

And the men who holding the principles held by those who long ago gave the world an example of the separation of the Church and State have now another work to do. They must give the world

* Wordsworth.

an example of the separation of the saloon and State. It is through fear that they will do this, that the hypocrite puts on pious airs and warns the world against the union of Church and State. Good men must vote their consciences to prevent bad men foisting upon us conscienceless political leaders and legislation. Church members must perform their political duties to prevent "churchmen" from again dominating the State. We must maintain the separation of Church and State, but there must be no separation of religion and State. The separation in the one instance, and union in the other, is equally necessary if we are to preserve the original life of the republic.

The fundamental documents in which American democracy is crystallized maintain a dignified indifference to denominationalism, but they were formed in a religious atmosphere and are held together by religious principles. The institutions of the republic could not survive without religion. Judge Story says of the formation of the Constitution: "The attempt to level all religions and make it a matter of set policy to hold all in utter indifference would have created universal dissatisfaction if not universal indignation." Chief Justice Shea has said: "Our own government and the laws by which it is administered are in every part—legis-

lative, judicial and executive—Christian in nature, form and purpose." Judge Story declared that "Christianity is part of the common law, from which it seeks the sanction of its rights and by which it seeks to regulate its doctrine." By Christianity is meant here what Webster called "general tolerant Christianity, independent of sects and creeds." It is as truly un-American to seek to divorce religion and the State as it is to marry the Church and the State. Christian men must, with their ballots, guard against both the Romish peril of union of Church and State and the secularistic peril of separation of religion and State.

The vote of all good men for good men, should be our motto. Intelligent men are careful to intrust their savings to the best banker they know, but will trust their civic destiny to poltroons. As long as we breed our politicians and policemen in the polluted atmosphere of the saloon, we need not wonder that we cannot have good government.

The times are not without encouraging signs. There is an increasing number of statesmen who own their consciences and are not ashamed to own themselves Christians in times of public agitation of moral questions. That such men are among us in the midst of political demagoguery and in the face of much cowardice and indifference on the part of

many church members, is a matter for congratulation. An increasing number of young men will have their ideals shaped and their public careers determined by these examples of the citizen "whom the lust of office cannot buy." Indeed, the one thing now most certain is that young men who, entering upon the duties of citizenship to-day, are too weak to own their moral convictions, will, by the time they reach the centre of the political arena, find themselves unable to command public confidence, and those who start on their careers by espousing high moral principles and righteousness for the state and nation will, in middle life and onward, be popular favorites. The highway of success for the young man with political ambitions is in the practice of the loftiest ideals. The citizenship of America is getting ready to dispense with the public service of "the demagogue," "the boodler," "the boss," and the whole tribe of petty politicians who seek only to serve self and those interests which pay for the privilege of preying upon the public. We have already begun to substitute statesmen for politicians, and the work will now be carried forward rapidly.

The preacher of righteousness is taking a share in this work of promoting good citizenship. It was never intended that the preacher should be an in-

different citizen. His most commonplace duties as a member of society relate him intimately to God's purpose in his nation. The political views he holds, the ballot he casts, the political platform he supports, the candidacy he champions, all help or hinder the purposes of God and the fulfilment of the nation's mission. I do not forget that the preacher's first and chief duty is to preach the gospel—preach—the—gospel. Every word of that imperial command has the emphasis of divine prerogative. The prophet of the olden time was God's great preacher of righteousness. He was also the nation's first citizen. The preacher is the successor to the prophet, and there is no more hopeful sign of better things for the nation than this, that the preacher is reassuming his function as, perhaps, he has not assumed it since the mal-alliance of Christianity and the State in the days of Constantine.

A democratic government brings all citizens up to their best, the preacher with the rest. The preacher is a citizen and cannot shirk the common duties of his fellow-men. He is not, on the one hand, a monk, a recluse, an ascetic, nor, on the other, the public arbiter, nor privileged authoritative functionary: he is not to be a robed and mitred counsellor of statesmen or political dictator. As a citizen he simply shares in the common

responsibilities of citizenship. The preacher has one calling and one office, one public position which involves many duties, but which precludes any other official rôle. He should not be a candidate for any official honor or position. As God's ambassador, wearing the insignia of God's high calling, he has honor enough; but as a private citizen he should have an eye to everything which can hinder or contribute to the purpose of God for his nation. As a preacher he should have a warning and a rebuke resonant with certainty for every man who seeks to defeat the ways of righteousness, the will of God and impede the nation in its appointed course. As a voter he should go to the polls, side by side with the barkeeper, if needs be, and there with a Christian citizen's ballot "overcome evil with good."

The Christian citizen is to vote for the right laws and the right men to enforce them. We handicap all righteousness when we allow immoral laws to be made or elect bad men to enforce good laws. The moral significance of a man's vote is to be measured, both by the men and the measures he supports with his ballot and the far-reaching effects of his act upon those who look to the voter for defence and justice. It is doubtful if a man performs a more moral and significant act or in any

other way more truthfully publishes his real moral character than by his vote. No other act he performs as a citizen involves such consequences to his fellow-men and so intimately affects the ends which God seeks to accomplish through the national life of the people.

III

Strange as it may seem, the nation has perils of a religious nature; or to state the fact more plainly, there are religions in America which constitute a peril to the nation. Some of these are drastically un-American and anti-American. Matters fundamental to these creeds are subversive of matters fundamental to the government. The Mormon monstrosity for instance, although originated in America, would overturn our whole social and domestice life if it were left free to practise and propagate things which are essential parts of its creed. An extended catalogue of religions which threaten the national ideals might be given, but it is better to confine discussion to one of these, that one, however, the most gigantic and dangerous of them all.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy is the world's greatest enemy to evangelical religion and democratic self-government. There is, to-day, no

greater public duty before the American statesman and the American Christian alike than a close and faithful study of the methods and steady encroachments of Rome upon our nation. Lord Macaulay, who exposed the paralyzing effects of Romanism upon nations, says: "There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church." Taking advantage of the liberties which men of evangelical faith have procured for them, the immigrant priests of Rome are no sooner in the enjoyment of these liberties than they attack the foundations upon which they rest. Not only have they no gospel of light and salvation for our people, but they seek to defeat those who have, and set themselves to establish and maintain institutions hostile to American ideals. Their mission will not be fulfilled until the principles of evangelical religion and of democracy are dislodged from the public mind, and the institutions which these have created are overthrown.

We speak with deliberation when we say that the good Romanist is a bad citizen of a republic like ours. He acknowledges allegiance to an institution which has its seat of government in Italy and vests one man, and he an Italian, with supreme authority. A true Romanist, whether he

be priest, bishop, cardinal or confessor, is pledged to uphold this foreign institution and its chief executive in all their policies. There are some good American citizens who are classed as Catholics, but though nominally so, are not loyal Catholics. No good American is a loyal Catholic nor is any good Catholic a loyal American. The two things are incompatible. Romanism and the Republic hold conflicting and antagonistic principles. No man can uphold both of them. By a little reflection, any one must come to this conclusion. The Roman Catholic hierarchy lays as strong claims to peculiar political privileges as it does to religious authority, and many of its religious prerogatives contravene the functions assumed by the State. Rome even scandalizes our civil marriages and casts at our children the disgrace of illegitimate birth. American democracy places the power in the people, the hierarchy places it in the Pope. He claims that authority belongs to him; we claim that it belongs to American citizens. Rome puts a ban on intellectual freedom where the law of the nation says there shall be none.

It is not religious charity to cover up such facts as these and many others; it is unfaithful and unsafe American citizenship to do so. Whenever the infallible Pope surrenders his claim and publishes

his confession that he has been mistaken in maintaining the right of civil authority, then we can treat Romanism as a religion simply, but not until then can we do it and discharge our responsibilities to this government and the men and women who, under it, enjoy political and religious freedom.

No American patriot, by vote or authority vested in him, will give a Roman Catholic a place of power in this republic as long as the hierarchy claims rights which supersede the individual conscience and the civil power. No man can be a consistent Roman Catholic, as Catholicism is to-day, and be the friend of American institutions, as these institutions exist.

Let no one attribute these words to the spirit of bigotry, sectarian prejudice, or blindness. Roman Catholicism is an historic institution and all who can read may know what its principles and practices are. We appeal to the facts and a thousand years of history made by an "infallible" Pope and an "unchangeable" church. Indeed enlightenment has gone far enough in this land, we should think, for every man who can read his ballot to understand these things.

The Romish power has one head, who professedly embodies in himself, not only the Roman Catholic creed, but the prerogatives of Christ Himself.

Indeed he transcends the authority which Christ asserted on earth, for Christ did not meddle with the civil powers nor intervene them. The Pope is not simply an ecclesiastic who believes and professes a certain religious creed and plans universal conquest for it; he is a politician, a diplomat, a civil governor who seeks the usurpation of political power and the domination of the whole life of the people. This is not a charge, not a suspicion, not a railing accusation, but an historic fact and the published programme of the Pope and his coadjutors.

Speaking of the English people, Cardinal Manning said: "It is good for us, reverend brothers, to be here in England. If ever there was a country in which there was much to do, and perhaps much to suffer, it is here. I shall not say too much if I say that it is for us to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and to rule, an imperial race. We have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world, as the will of Old Rome reigned once; and it is for us to bend or break that will, which nations and kingdoms have found invincible and inflexible. Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world. All its lines meet here, and therefore in England the Church of God must be gathered in all its strength."

The reader will weigh the Cardinal's words,

"Subjugate and subdue, to conquer and to rule—bend or break that will." Though uttered by a modern ecclesiastic they are a part of the ancient Romish vocabulary, and show that the spirit and purpose of Rome remain the same.

Of course the subjugation of England was, in the Cardinal's mind, but preparatory to victory over the Anglo-Saxon people and evangelical religion the world over. He says: "Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world." Since these words were uttered the Pope has not only multiplied institutions and forces in England, but has redoubled his efforts to make conquest of Anglo-Saxon America. The political methods used by the Pope's representatives and the political recognition given them by some American politicians (we do not call them statesmen), would startle the American citizen who is blind to such matters, if he should investigate them.

But, as we have said, we are dealing with a historical institution and may learn its policies from its own history and published faith and programme.

The following un-American utterance was approved by Pope Leo XIII and Cardinal Manning, and states the historic position of Rome: "The Catholic Church interdicts the right of private judgment in matters of faith; she has ever inter-

dicted it, and she will continue to interdict it to the end of time. Free inquiry, individual preference, liberty of mind, freedom of thought, private judgment in the domain of faith, are words which she has no ears to hear. She will not, she cannot, listen to them; they would rend the rock on which she rests." *

The following quotations are from the revised edition of Dr. Josiah Strong's book, *Our Country*, and were carefully verified after an attack had been made upon his first edition. Roman Catholic Canon Law says: "No oaths are to be kept if they are found against the interests of the Church of Rome." Cardinal Manning avows that "The civil laws are binding on the conscience only so long as they are conformable to the rights of the Catholic Church." O. A. Bronson, a Roman Catholic writer and defender of the faith, said in the *Catholic Review*: "Protestantism of every form has not and never can have any right where Catholicity is triumphant." A Roman catechism approved by Cardinal Gibbons, and used in the Roman Catholic parochial schools, says: "The Church only can judge how far her authority goes." We could continue to quote indefinitely from Roman Catholic books, peri-

* Quoted in *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*, by R. H. Horton and Joseph Hocking, p. 105.

odicals and even from our popular American magazines and religious papers, in which Roman Catholicism is more and more making bold to publish its historic position. In the light of these deliverances, American citizens may well ponder the words of Lafayette, who knew Romanism and loved America. He says: "If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Romish clergy."

Our institutions grew out of the religious convictions and consciences of evangelical Christians and were framed specifically to safeguard, forever, every man's right to his religious faith. This right was guaranteed to others, including Roman Catholics, who never conceded so much to anybody else, and every patriotic American to-day is willing that the Roman Catholic shall have the rights of his conscience in matters of religion. But, while proscribing civil domination of the religious conscience by civil institutions, we must proscribe the domination of civil and political matters by the Romish ecclesiastic and his ecclesiastical institution. The Pope and the loyal priest must not be allowed that interference with political affairs which the President and the police are not allowed with their religious affairs. Every intelligent and loyal member of the Roman Catholic Church the world over

believes that the Pope and the Romish institution have civil and political rights peculiar to them, and they believe this just as firmly as they believe in any religious tenet they hold. The Pope believes that other people ought to be taxed to pay his priests and that he ought to exercise such a relationship to the civil authority as to secure the collection of this tax.

Even while we are writing this a Roman Catholic priest is being elevated to the bishopric in our town. The following is the solemn oath he has taken: "I, Joseph, elected to the charge of the Church of Dallas, from this hour henceforward will be obedient to Blessed Peter, the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Holy Father Pope Pius X., and to his successors canonically elected. I will assist them to retain and defend the Roman papacy without detriment to my order. I shall take care to defend, to preserve, to increase and promote the rights, honors, privileges and authority of the Holy Roman Church of our Lord, the Pope, and his aforesaid successors. I shall observe with all my strength, and shall cause to be observed by others, the rules of the Holy Fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances or dispositions, reservations, provisions and mandates, etc."

It is to be observed that this man, not only menially surrenders personal rights which belong to

every American citizen; but that he pledges himself to cause others to observe the will of this Italian in Rome, who thus legislates for American citizens and denies the rights of free thought and free speech, our national law to the contrary notwithstanding. The oaths taken by priests and the Jesuits are even more menacing than that of a bishop.

Every Roman Catholic priest and every nun who walks our streets is an enemy to the American public school system. In every large city in America they have walled about and thus evaded public scrutiny un-American institutions which are not only the rivals of the government schools, but which teach the American youths that these schools and other American institutions are positively wrong and seek to grow this prejudice for them with the deepest religious predilections of the young. Only recently the Roman Catholic bishop of Cincinnati announced his purpose to deny absolution to any Roman Catholic citizen who sends his children to a government school. To our way of thinking there is no great jeopardy to the soul of any one to be denied this bishop's absolution, but there is in the presence of this ecclesiastic an enemy to our American institutions. While Rome is fighting our public schools, 120,000,000 of the

180,000,000 Catholics in the world are illiterate; while spending $7,500,000 annually for wax and incense burned in Spanish chambers in appealing to the superstition of the people, 11,945,971 out of a total Spanish population of 17,667,256 are illiterate. If this nation believes in public enlightenment and the advancement of its citizenship in civilization and intelligence, why should we not tell our citizens the truth about how Rome darkens the mind and causes civilization to decay wherever it is in power?

Not only do the Roman Catholics, wherever you find them, if they are true and in good fellowship, thus oppose the great national means of public enlightenment and the nation's chief reliance for intelligence and patriotism in its citizenship, but these same priests with every opportunity put their hands into the national treasury and take the people's money with which to support their own sectarian institutions. Just the other day New Mexico sought admission to the American Union, but before the citizens of New Mexico could adopt a Constitution, the Roman Catholics had a bill before our national legislators asking for a fee-simple gift to a single Roman Catholic official of three hundred thousand acres of land in New Mexico, to be used to strengthen Roman Catholicism and maintain its educational competition against the government.

Moreover, Romanism maintains, in our midst, secret institutions debarring public scrutiny and government examination. Of these an English writer says: "One European nation after another has expelled them as homes of treason and as dangerous to the well-being of the State." * Not even Italy, the home of the Pope, tolerates one of these secret institutions so common in America. The following, addressed to Englishmen by an intelligent Englishman, may well claim the attention of patriotic Americans: "Convents are sealed houses. In them are thousands of our fellow-creatures. Most of them enter in youth when their natures are most susceptible to influence. They are strictly guarded. Obedience is one of the great laws of life. A ghastly curse rests on those who dare to escape. They are taught to destroy all human affection. Do they wish to come into the world again? We do not know, cannot know, except on some rare occasion one happens to escape. They are under the dominion of a confessor, whom to disobey is regarded as sin . . . I make no charge of cruelty, immorality, or crime. But I assert that anything can be done, children can be born, and women can die, there can be cruelty, crime, outrage,

* *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*, by R. F. Horton and Joseph Hocking, p. vii.

and yet no one has the right to know anything about it.

"And yet is it not a fact that, besides these, practically every public institution of every sort—asylum, prison, reformatory—is open to public inspection? Why is it that Rome should so rule our land that convents, monasteries, and the industrial institutions associated with that Church should be exempt? The public has a right to know that all is well within these prison houses, especially in view of their history ancient and modern." *

The following from a Catholic publication needs no interpretation: "It does not suffice the Church to be free. She also must have the respect and consideration of those who govern the people; and it is this which we never lack. The American government seems to take special pains to surround the Church with exceptional privileges and seizes all the occasions possible to show us her esteem."† We may keep a watch upon our "statesmen." When public officials and candidates for political honors are seen entertaining, being entertained by, or sending tokens of friendship to Romish ecclesiastics, we should understand the significance of the act.

* *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*, by R. F. Horton and Joseph Hocking, pp. viii-ix.

† *The Catholic Citizen*, November, 1904, p. 1.

The *Standard* of Chicago says: "Unless we are much mistaken, all over the land there is an increasing feeling of resentment against the premeditated encroachments of Catholicism. We do not recall, for years, when Protestant papers have been so outspoken in their denunciation of the insidious efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to obtain control of the springs of influence in the United States. It is high time, too, that protest should be emphatically made, for the power of the hierarchy appears to be growing. Catholic army officers, Catholic legislators, Catholic editors, Catholic teachers, seem to be everywhere, and everywhere influential. Just when Europe is throwing off the burden of the papacy, it is falling upon our backs."

The partiality which some of our public officials are showing for Roman Catholicism and their readiness to elevate Roman Catholics to positions of authority is not a good omen for this nation. The following words by an Englishman contain pertinent warning for Americans: "The Catholic training and the Catholic principles, the complete subjection of the Catholic mind to priest and Pope, make it impossible for a Catholic to hold the highest place in the judiciary of a free people. He would bring the whole system of law into suspicion.

No judge can be impartial whose conscience and intellect are in the keeping of an alien authority." *

The time is on us to guard our political rights with our ballots and secure and hold American control of American institutions before Rome shall mount to the ascendency and further attempt with our liberties what she meted out to our fathers before they fled across the seas to escape the fires of Romish bigots. As long as Italy allowed him to exercise the authority which he arrogates, the Pope did not allow an evangelical Christian to hold a public service in Rome, and he will disallow the right to do it here if he can gain sufficient following to support such a policy. "She wears the velvet glove over the hand of steel, and hopes that people who have short memories in relation to the great facts of history will not see the steel—but it is there." While claiming every right in America and resenting any reference to her historic intolerance, Rome is even now protesting to the Spanish Government against allowing evangelical Christians the right even to make public announcement of their services.

"The time is ripe, ye sons of worthy sires,
To take a stand for liberty and truth;
To now renew the flickering altar fires
Our fathers kindled for the rising youth;

* *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*, p. 191.

To light their torches with an ardent flame
That burns for God and home and native land.
O, ye who reverence our Country's fame,
Arise, for Freedom's bulwark make your stand.

"Remember France and Mexico and Spain,
And all where ignorance hath done its worst
Throughout the breadth of papacy's domain,
It binds its shackles on the mind at first
And thus entraps the souls of senseless men.
O, men, eternal vigilance's the price
Which Liberty must pay!—what if again
From bloody fields we see in tears its rise?"

But we need to remember, above all things, what our Christian mission is. We are to be good American citizens and not ecclesiastics who abuse American principles, but above all this, we are to be Christians and seek to fulfil our mission by missionary zeal. We are to seek no conquests over Roman Catholics, but we are to seek converts among them. We must meet the politics of Rome with a better citizenship, a purer American patriotism, but we must meet individual Romanists with a Christian compassion and the evangelical gospel. We cannot, by conquering them, make them either Christians or good citizens. The converted Roman Catholic is a friend and helper to both our political and religious institutions. It is time we had gotten beyond protesting; that we had, indeed, abandoned the name "Protestant," given the evangelicals when

they were a small minority, and had gotten down or rather up, to our high calling of evangelizing Catholics as well as assuming the high dignity of our Christian citizenship.

In reality, this work for Roman Catholics has not yet been undertaken in earnest on the home field. When we recognize it as a duty and undertake it with purpose we are persuaded we will find it easier work than we now think. We have allowed the name Catholic to be a greater barrier between us and our fellow citizens than any sin or sinful occupation pursued among us. We go with personal appeal to the profane, the drunk and the saloon-keeper; we cultivate these with the hope of saving them, but we stand aloof from Roman Catholics. This fact more than any other accounts for our neglect of our immigrant population. One of the fatalities which befall the people, when they are divided in their religious beliefs, is the antipathies which are engendered. Impassable gulfs divide us even from our neighbors if we know that our neighbors hold another religion than our own. We would call and make personal efforts to win them if we knew they were just sinners. His religious belief, may, indeed, be the most dangerous thing in the life of a man. It raises a battlement over which we do not venture. Especially is this true

if the man be a Roman Catholic. The priest, the politician and the saloonman will venture where the evangelical Christian will not go. Catholics will never become our converts and our allies if we never become their friends; and the truth of God will not fulfil its mission in this nation until, by the conversion of Roman Catholics, we balk Roman Catholic encroachment. We shall not break the power of the Pope until, by personal work, we shall break the fetters of superstition which bind our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens.

V

THE REALIZATION OF THE MISSION

Is this mission realizable? Or does some one pronounce such an ideal an impracticable dream? To declare it impracticable would be to take inspiration out of the whole missionary enterprise; for what are we about if it is not to bring all the world under the dominion of Jesus? Do we not work for and expect the evangelization of all nations? What reason can we give for such a hope if we do not believe the evangelization of our own nation possible? But if the evangelization of the world is possible, then let us be consistent, and with well-laid plans prosecute our task of saving this nation. Why not, indeed, give a demonstration of our ability to save other nations by saving one nation? This is our nearest duty and, therefore, the most practicable as well as the most imperative. If we expect to succeed anywhere we may hope to succeed here.

If this mission is realizable it is to be accomplished by definite and rational means.

I

First, then, there is needed among us an agreement as to what is the real solvent for our nation's ills. We are to cherish our American institutions and make faithful use of the franchise, and yet we may not expect to find in our public schools and political parties, even at their best, a panacea for the ills of the nation. We must, while we may, get back to those things which made the nation and, therefore, can be relied upon to preserve it. Lucretius of old said, "A great builder needs the assistance of the gods to avoid the task of the destroyer." Our very efforts to save the nation without the help of Him under whose benign providence we began to build will destroy what we have already reared.

Do we rely upon our democratic institutions to take care of our democratic principles? Or do we rely upon our democratic principles to take care of our democratic institutions? "Religion is the mother of nations and the conservator of nations. The organizing force of the national life is not democracy; it is not community of economic interest, or fellowship in the creed of science. The organizing force of the national life is the power of the eternal world pressing close and palpitatingly upon the life of this world, subordinating individual

interest to the common good. It is not an external repression, but an inward impulsion; not policemen, but God." * There must be something behind organized society to take care of it and its institutions. The institutions did not bring men into existence, but certain sort of men brought forth the institutions; and these men themselves were brought to a state of mind and moral temper which gave them the clue to democracy and disposed them to create these institutions.

The solvent of our problems, therefore, is religion—right religion. Daniel Webster was not a saint, but he was a statesman and a political philosopher, with a rare penetration into the things which make for the perpetuity of the republic. He said, "To preserve the government we must also preserve morals. Morality rests on religion; if you destroy the foundation the superstructure must fall." † "Monarchies live by honor and republics by virtue," said a great Frenchman. Virtue, morality and religion are personal qualities, and if the nation is to have the support of these it will be the result of a process which reaches men first; reaches them as men and not as parties, clans or classes.

* *Baptist Message*, p. 61.

† Webster's Fourth of July Speech.

"When wilt thou save the people,
Oh, God of mercy, when?
The people, Lord! the people!
Not thrones or crowns, but men.

"God, save the people, Thine they are;
Thy children as the angels fair,
Save them from bondage and despair,
Save the people!"

That which in the life of the nation more than anything else controls the nation's destiny is religion. This does not apply to our nation or our religion alone. The religion of a nation establishes its grade among nations, the world around. A nation's religion determines the intelligence, morality, culture and position of its people in the great family of nations. The institutions of this republic are the creation of free men who found their freedom in acting out their religious convictions. No less an authority than Jelenick says that, "the idea of legally establishing inalienable, inherent and sacred rights of the individual is not of political but religious origin." *

The nation rises no higher than the religious life of the people and falls when religion declines. When the Bible was translated into the tongues of the people and they began to read it, then evangelical religion, which is essentially democratic, and

* *Rights of Men and the City*, p. 72.

democracy with its principles of civil liberty, sprang forth. The two, evangelical Christianity and democracy, have walked hand in hand like children from the same schoolroom.

In every land where a monarch reigns or the ecclesiastic is in authority, individual worth, personal merit and dignity are at a discount. Republican government and evangelical religion put a premium upon the individual. This is the logic of New Testament religion. Says Hugo Münsterberg, "That which has made America's greatness, which seemed to be her mission in the world, is the belief in the ethical worth of individuals." And again, "The pride of the true American is, once and for all, not the American country nor yet the American achievement, but American personality." * These observations upon America and Americans contain a deep and genuine philosophy. They hint at how manhood is produced and so, without writing it, underscore our contention for religion as the chief reliance of the nation and democracy.

If legislation is to continue to be the work of representative assemblies and, therefore, the country is to be democratic, we must create a preponderating public morality, or graft and official corruption will be the natural thing in these representative

* *Americans,* by Hugo Münsterberg, pp. 608-9.

assemblies. Democracy presupposes a prevailing morality and intelligence; for if these are not in the ascendency, good government cannot be guaranteed by popular vote. Democracy is of religious origin and puts a premium upon character and general intelligence. The Creator never intended that ignorance and immorality should rule intelligence and morality. Therefore, under the divine providence, the doctrine of personal religion was the forerunner of the doctrine of personal rights. The Christian experience is the forebear of the democratic principles.

In 1524 the peasants in Germany put forth a most remarkable declaration of civil rights which shows something of the beginning and source of democracy in Europe. One of these says that "Every commune has the right to choose its own pastor and he ought to teach the truth without human additions"; and another declares that "Every man, being redeemed by Christ's blood, is a free man. We are, therefore, free, and will be free." * Democracy sprouted out of religious experience, which was produced by the Word of God and under the warm brooding of the Spirit who inspired that Word and quickens moral life with it.

The growth of democracy has been contemporary

* *Christian State,* by Samuel Zane Batten, p. 130.

with the growth of religion and under the impetus of religious faith of the evangelical sort. We have already seen that its establishment in America was under distinct religious auspices. It is true that some of the Colonial Fathers brought some seeds of Old World heresies in their clothes, but the dominant evangelical life of the people very thoroughly exterminated or stunted these, and the human conscience was set free in Massachusetts and Virginia, and with the framing of the Constitution, religious liberty was declared for all.

Bancroft says of Roger Williams that "He was the first man in modern Christendom to establish civil government on the doctrine of religious conduct, the equality of religious conscience under the law." * He organized a church of twelve members and established a civil government; the principles for both he found in the Bible, and the two, though separate, were equally democratic.

For the most part the early immigrants to that part of America which comprises the English colonies and formed the Union were refugees for evangelical faith and their democratic principles which had grown with that faith. The two were professed by the same individuals, crossed the sea together, and with opportunity here to grow normally,

* *History of the United States*, Vol. I, Chapter XV.

found their harmonious development in a republic where neither interfered with the functions of the other but where each helps the other to fulfil its mission. God has joined evangelical religion and democracy and what He has joined let no man put asunder. Under the regnancy of religion in our personal and social life the two will be kept in their proper relation in our political life. The decay here of evangelical religion or the rise here of non-evangelical religion will prove a sure precursor of democracy's downfall. The real perils of the nation are irreligion, non-religion and wrong religion. A good member of an evangelical church is a good citizen of a democratic government. We shall not create and maintain here a homogeneous and moral nation made out of our diverse native and immigrant peoples if we overlook religion and its place in the life of our people.

"There is no power like the gospel to destroy race antipathies, break down the bars of prejudice, and draw all peoples into unity, brotherhood and liberty—that spiritual freedom wherewith Christ makes free." *

We have already seen that the symphonizing note in the original democracy was religion. The first act of the white man on this continent was worship.

* *Aliens or Americans?*, by Howard B. Grose, p. 270.

The religious meeting-house was the first public building erected in America and the first public meeting was for prayer and praise. The first council of state in Virginia sat in the meeting-house, and was as reverent as the prayer service; the minister convened it and closed it. To be true to American traditions, the first act the immigrant should be invited to participate in should be worship.

It was in the warmth and glow of fervent religious life that the divergent elements of our colonial population fused into a national life with common political ideals and aims. We need to remember in this our day of world-breaking immigration that religion is the chief promoter of unity, or the chief hindrance to it. The Romish religion is incompatible with democracy while evangelical religion is its inspiration. We shall revive democracy when we revive religion, and the deepening of religious life of the people means the heightening of the spirit of democracy in the nation. The practice of religion is the best protection of the principles of democracy.

What is the highest value of democracy? Democracy affords the individual opportunity for largest self-expression. Personal liberty and rights are for this reason guaranteed. Evangelical religion is the greatest inspiration to highest self-

expression. It furnishes impulse and the government furnishes atmosphere. But that atmosphere is the product of religion and religion of the evangelical type. The beginning of a true and genuine democrat is in an evangelical religious experience. In that experience there is vouchsafed such consciousness of individuality, of high personal prerogative, the glory of lofty individual privilege in approach to and acceptance of God, of personal responsibility and dignity, that in the one act of a moment is the genesis of a democrat and the impulse to true democracy. There is also begotten a conviction of brotherhood and human interest which is essential to unity in so heterogeneous a population as ours.

There can be no long life for civil liberty without a religion specially tempered to enforce the responsibility of liberty. Liberty runs to license and society dissolves into chaos without an overawing sense of personal responsibility for the proper use of liberty. Religion is the spiritual bond which binds into homogeneous nationality a community of separate and independent individuals.

That which does most for the individual and promotes greatest concern for the individual welfare does most for the democratic nation in which it works. Religion is that thing which really does

something for the individual. Other things may improve his condition; religion improves the man. Other things change his environment; religion changes him. Civil institutions may give him opportunity and protection; religion gives him character and disposition to make the right use of opportunity. As no man is poor who has a good character, so no nation is poor which has a wealth of manhood in its citizenship. And nothing so enhances personal worth as personal religion.

II

The American public school system is looked upon by many as our greatest nationalizing institution and the surest defence against our national dangers. The American public school is an institution of inestimable value and is to be taken care of for the great part it is playing and is yet to play in keeping America American. Romish priests have more than a religious reason for their opposition to the public school. It is a mighty bulwark against the un-Americanization of the nation. So long as it maintains its present patronage and prestige the Vatican cannot realize its political designs in America. But the American public school itself is a creature of that democracy which was begotten by evangelical religion. When evangelical religion

championed the competency of the soul for religion and asserted the fact of personal accountability to God, freedom was a necessity. The dignity and responsibility thus attributed to man declared him to be both worthy and in need of intellectual improvement. The responsibilities and liberty thrust upon him made it necessary, both for his good and for the good of society, that he should be prepared to discharge them intelligently. Thus the public school is the important factor in creating capacity for citizenship.

But the nation needs more than capacity. It needs fitness in its citizens for participation in the privileges and responsibilities of government. Qualification for citizenship is a matter of character chiefly, and character is not mainly a product of intellectual culture, but of religion. Education, indeed, without character, may be an important consideration in disqualifying one for citizenship.

And, as administered at present, our free school system does not guarantee the elements necessary to good citizenship. President W. L. Poteat says of public education divorced from religion, "There is universal disappointment at the results attained." The petty thieving in nearly all our schools, including the high schools, has a menacing aspect for the nation. The "locker," which it is necessary to place

even in the high schools in every city in order to keep some who are thus far advanced in public education from stealing valuables belonging to their fellow-students, is but a token of the ineffectiveness of public education to produce the class of citizens which the nation needs. These safety contrivances, necessary to preserve the children's books and coats, prophesy loudly of the necessity later of cells for the safe-keeping of criminals who have had all the education our public schools can give. Ten thousand children under twenty years of age fall into the criminal class each year in the city of Chicago. For the most part these are recruited from the public schools, though of course the public school is not to be held wholly responsible for this. The lack of religion in the home is the chief cause of juvenile crime.

But the facts prove that the public school is not the solvent of our national ills. The *finesse* of American statesmanship will be in finding that harmonious adjustment of religion and civil institutions which will increase the moral value of our public schools without infringing the rights of conscience or encouraging sectarian encroachment upon the prerogatives of the state and at the same time enable the nation to avail itself of religion in the training of its citizens and for the ultimate

purification of politics. This constitutes a challenge to the statesman and political philosopher. If statesmen are not found equal to the task of so adjusting religion and state, and of so heightening the moral value of public education by the infusion of more religion, we shall, after a while, find the nation dominated either by Romish priests or an immoral citizenship. In either case disaster to American democracy will follow. A democratic citizenship cannot be produced and a republican government maintained without evangelical religion.

The latest sociological studies among immigrant foreigners and their American offspring further declare the fact that the public school is failing in the task of making American citizens. It is for this work of Americanizing the children of foreigners that the public school system has been most lauded. We have been told how the language of our land is there taught; how the spell and traditions of the Old World are broken; how a comradeship with young Americans is established; and how American patriotism grows. There is, of course, much truth in this; and yet students of sociology and criminology have brought to light a fact which puts a check on our enthusiasm. That fact is, a larger per cent. of criminals are found among the children of foreigners coming out of our public schools than among

the foreigners coming to our shores. Our public schools turn loose on the nation a larger per cent. of thieves, perjurers and murderers in the children of foreigners which they enroll than is discharged upon us in the foreigners themselves who walk the gangplanks of our immigrant ships. Southern Europe, with all our prejudice for it, does not furnish the nation so large a per cent. of criminals as the nations gets from the children of foreigners which it is training (?) in its schools.

What does it prove? One thing certainly: The public school is failing at its task of making citizens out of the children of foreigners and of proving itself a solvent of the nation's problems and a remedy for its perils. When we have learned that this institution is not such a solvent we have learned also that there is no extra-religious institution which can perform this function. The public school goes nearer to the source of our troubles than any other state institution, inasmuch as it deals with the training of the young. When, therefore, it fails, we need not put dependence in any other of our institutions. Early instruction has greater power of restraint than subsequent legislation, jails or policemen. If the public schools turn out petty thieves and burglars we may not expect their products later to prevent graft and prove a corrective to violation

of law. The truth is that trust investigations, graft prosecutions, legislative expulsions, and the like, are expedients to which the nation resorts when it has discovered its want of a solvent for its ills among its institutions.

There is at this time a movement toward a completer democracy in America, but whether it shall end in real American democracy or European socialism will be determined by the seasoning of religion we give it. The honorable James Bryce in his incomparable work, *The American Commonwealth,* says, "The more democratic republics become, the more the masses grow conscious of their own power, the more do they need to live, not only by patriotism, but by reverence and self-control, and the more essential to their well-being are those sources whence reverence and self-control flow."

If the nation is to be saved from its perils it must be saved from its roots. No educational nurture, nor legislative pruning, nor judicial boring can insure a healthy growth and wholesome fruit on the tree of democracy. Some of these are drastic operations and when necessary declare that primary neglect has developed into public calamity. Amputation, if we need be a little reckless with figures along here, is better than death; it is mutilation of the body politic and does not leave the nation in

normal or robust health. If this young nation is to reach a giant-manhood and fulfil the promise it has given of moral and political athletics, a remedy must be found for those ills of which we have already many symptoms. The nation was built on Christian character, formed on Christian principles, and cannot survive nor fulfil its mission without religion. The government cannot be strong if its citizens are morally weak. "The habit," says Henry Van Dyke, "of referring constantly to religious sanctions is one that carries with it a tendency to intensify the whole native power of life in relation to its conception of what is right and desirable. Men growing up in such an atmosphere may easily become fanatical, but they are not likely to become feeble." *

If, then, evangelical religion is necessary to the completest life of the nation, the most patriotic thing an American can do is to secure the conversion of his fellow-citizens. There is a stronger guarantee of national security in that work than in any other that a patriot can perform. A democracy is the colossus of all civil evils if the people who compose it are degenerate. A subject race of honest and God-fearing men can break the rule of degenerate kings and save itself and the land

* *The Spirit of America*, pp. 38-9.

from ruin, but there is absolutely no hope for democracy when the people are base. The man who converts the citizenship of a democracy from their sins saves the nation from a multitude of evils. The American question is the religious question.

III

There must, therefore, be a deeper personal consecration to the task of saving individuals. No national ideal for which there is a want of passion among the people can ever be realized. We are steadily realizing the things for which there is a passion. If the realization of the mission of the nation should become our ideal and should master us we would at once begin to realize it. We are succeeding in realizing lower ideals though they involve greater difficulties than would be encountered in making Christian converts of our fellow-men. The higher ideal ought to be the supreme question. It involves the destiny of our fellow-citizens and of our nation and is a challenge to our Anglo-Saxon manhood. The amassing of fortune for fortune's sake, the gaining of empire for dominion's sake, the flaunting of our wealth, boasting of our greatness or exhibiting our strength, all are a business too small for a people with such traditions and with such a mission. A great people ought to live for the

highest things. All the devotion, the energy, the passion, these lower things have called forth, and more, ought to characterize our effort to fulfil the nation's real mission.

Considering the issue and the glory of it, men ought to be found in every church in America to raise the cry of John Knox, "Give me America or I die." Sidney Lanier, while yet a schoolboy, felt surging in him such a passion. He wrote in his notebook, "Liberty, patriotism and civilization are on their knees before the men of the South and with clasped hands and streaming eyes are begging them to become Christian." He never put more patriotism than this in any poem he wrote. This passion for lost souls must be transmitted by those who feel it to the masses of our Christian population if the ideal is to be realized and the nation is to fulfil its mission. Such a task ought to arouse the enthusiasm of all the devout dreamers among us and ultimately enlist, as certainly as it will need, all the talent and all the energy which a nation can command. The pulpit, the press, the politician, the poet, the patriot, men of business and the professions, must be induced to pour the energies of their brain and the tides of their sympathy into this supreme business of fully Americanizing our whole population by evangelizing it.

Considering the popular enthusiasm which can be aroused for measures which come and pass in a day, it would seem that a thing so supremely worth while ought to awaken enthusiasm and become a popular issue of the hour. It can be made such if the men and women who profess to be lured by Christian ideals will put into this enterprise energy and enthusiasm commensurate with its importance. We have enough men and women already in command of public attention and public respect to awaken the whole nation if only they should give themselves whole-heartedly to the pursuit of this ideal. It ought to be the easiest thing in the world to show good men that this enterprise is the first and the chief thing to claim their attention. We can never have such a nation as all good men want until this nation is thoroughly Christian and the nation will not become Christian until all good men esteem it their chief business to make it so.

We need men with a consecration and passion like David Brainerd, who, though he has been in heaven a full one hundred and fifty years, still inflames the hearts of thousands of good men and women with passion for the things which he loved. Said this impetuous soul: "I wrestled for the ingathering of souls, the multitudes of poor souls, personally, in many distant places. I was in such an

agony, from sun half-an-hour high till dark, that I was wet all over with sweat; but O! my dear Lord did sweat blood for such poor souls: I longed for more passion. I cared not where or how I lived or what hardships I went through, but that I could give souls to Christ." Dying worn out by three brief years consecrated to the task of making this continent Christian, he said, "I declare, now I am dying, I would not have spent my life otherwise for the whole world." After reading Brainerd's memoirs, J. M. Peck, that great Baptist home missionary hero to the Southwest, wrote in his journal which he kept while a student: "Oh, what would I not be willing to do or suffer if I could live as devotedly as this eminent servant of God! . . . I feel not merely to submit to the hardships of the missionary life but ardently long to enter the missionary field."

The beauty and the value of a passion like Brainerd's is that it draws other men into its channels and swells the river of noble purpose and achievement. When the Triennial Convention decided to include home missions in its work, Peck said, "The hand of God is clearly seen"; and when he was appointed to the missionary work in Missouri he wrote, "From this moment I consider myself most sacredly devoted to missions. Oh! Lord,

may I live and die in the cause." On another occasion he said, "I feel the most heavenly joy when my heart is engaged in this work." Still another home missionary, Joseph Ward, said: "We will put in ourselves and all we have until in other ways God carries on the work."

There are in America to-day more than a hundred thousand men ordained to the work of preaching the evangelical gospel. Suppose even these men who profess to have no other passion and the elect few among the Christian men and women of our churches who are busily engaged in one form or another of Christian service should be swept by this holy delirium of love for the lost, how quickly would this nation move toward its goal. A thousand fires of holy zeal would be kindled on next Sabbath and by the week's end a spiritual conflagration would burn throughout the nation.

Christianity never had in any land or age so many well equipped and capable men and women for the conduct of a work like this. We have in our churches men of brains and social influence, of training and culture, to command the respect of their fellows for an enterprise to which they commit themselves. But Christianity in our time needs to take care not only that our wealth and social position do not secularize us, but that education does

not make us cold and culture does not tame our zeal, and social refinement does not make us conventional to the point of ineffectiveness. The cause of evangelical religion is lost when spontaneity and passion die out of our worship, our witnessing and our work. Evangelical religion is fervent in spirit. Perhaps, the only thing the Christianity of America needs to-day to give it prevalence in the life of the nation is passion for the lost.

Such enthusiasm as Americans are to-day showing for other matters would, if put into this main business of Christian men and this chief matter affecting national welfare, in a short while demonstrate the possibility of realizing this ideal. In other things the nation is not without men of passion, men of intense purpose and power. Often this enthusiasm is not for things which make for the weal of the nation and much of it, alas! makes for the nation's woe, but as a people we are capable of enthusiasm. What would Lieutenant Peary's sustained enthusiasm for the North Pole accomplish turned to a search for the lost souls of this nation! Said he when he returned from the frozen North: "I worked and struggled and sacrificed loved ones, and some part of the body God gave me, to reach the North Pole. I succeeded, and I would not share the honor with my dearest friend. Rather, than to

have failed or lost the proofs that I had been there I would lose my own life." The enthusiasm of the explorer, the courage of the soldier, the zeal of the politician, the alertness of the business man, must all be put into this enterprise. Americans, above all people in the world, when once aroused to the realization of the importance of a thing have a capacity for sustained enthusiasm, indomitable perseverance and unfailing optimism in the pursuit of their goal. If only these can be turned to the main thing it will be accomplished.

A Socialist, explaining the success of Socialism in a certain Western town, said: "We have three hundred men, Socialists, each of whom has become responsible for a particular section of the city. They are pledged to get up every Sunday morning at five o'clock, summer and winter, for the purpose of making the rounds of their sections with literature printed in different languages, which is inserted in the newspapers found upon the front porches." Such enthusiasm for the salvation of the lost of that city by the Christian men and women in it would make it the model city of the land in a short while and solve this vexed question of civilization. We are told that a motto of a Western gambling house is "We never sleep." The cause of home missions is calling for men who do not court sleep,

nor ease, nor fame, and who cannot be discouraged until they see righteousness in the land.

IV

There must be a fuller appreciation of the missionary opportunity given us in the personnel of our citizenship. The immigrant tide has risen until it sweeps into our seaports a full million a year of other nations and kindreds and tongues. Some years the billows of this mighty tide rise a little higher or a little lower, but the mean depth is not to be less for some time to come. Columbus ploughed a channel across the ocean through which a stream of humanity began to flow. The banks of this channel have widened and deepened until it has become humanity's Father of Waters, the greatest immigrant tide that ever flowed. The world never saw the like and very probably will never see it again when this land is finally flooded, until the nations gather for the judgment assizes. It is the human migration phenomenon of the ages. The story of Goths and Vandals which ravaged our imagination in childhood is as a miniature to a life-sized portrait compared with the American immigration. These were but tribal invasions of neighboring clans. For proportion the Southern movement into the state of Texas resembles these

more than the immigrant army which comes to our American shores annually.

What is the meaning of this immigration? Surely such a solitary phenomenon has a significance. Jesus rebuked the Pharisees and Sadducees because they could not discern the signs of the times. The real signs of the times for God's prophets may not consist so much in what is being said—what is passing for popular opinion, nor the surface affairs of society, politics and finance. These fluctuate and "the fashion of this world passeth away." Jesus gave the key to the signs of the times when He said, "Lift up your eyes and look upon the field." Not the fashion, the affairs, the *things* of our times, but the men and women constitute the signs. Their movements and their needs invite attention.

There is nothing in our day more significant and nothing more claiming the attention of great and good men than the mighty human tides which are moving on the face of the earth. Much of biblical prophecy looked for its fulfilment to national movements, and the history of the world has been largely determined by human tides and currents. Human history has thus found its course and its goal. The history of the old Asiatic world, the classic European world and all subsequent Britain was made

by the tides of humanity and the courses which they took determined the character of those lands. No less certain is it that the character and destiny of America is subject to this mighty influence. The whole future of the human race rises and falls, advances and circles on this tide.

Early Christianity took cognizance and advantage of the human movements of the times. The man who takes proper account of these to-day and seeks properly to adjust American Christianity to them is the strategist of the hour, the loftiest statesman among us. It cannot be that this mighty movement of human souls is unnoticed of God and without some divine purpose. That God is indifferent to these millions of lonely pilgrims with their fortunes on their backs, tossed on sea and jostled on shore, a motley but heart-hungry company, is to argue ourselves out of faith in a sustaining Providence. What is God saying to American Christians through these, the least of His creatures? What is the language which their meek eyes speak to us as they look up so wonderingly from the steerage and the gangplank? Is God in that mute appeal speaking to our Christian hearts? Will Jesus say, "I was a stranger and ye took me in"? Will we hear His voice saying, in approval of what we have done, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of

these ye did it unto me"? While they were in their far-away homes we thought we loved them, we prayed God to open the doors of their countries and that He would call our young men and young women to go as His messengers to them. We asked mothers to give their sons and daughters for this holy work. But now the very people on whose behalf we prayed are here and coming in thousands and millions and, by their very need, knocking at our doors for the bread of life. Do we send them away empty? Is our pity turned into disgust the very moment we see how very needy they are? Is all the romance of foreign missions gone when we see the foreigners? We are sure that our missionaries go in answer to our prayers. Perhaps these are as truly sent in answer to the same prayers. God does not always send the answer to our prayers just in the form we expect it.

Surely, God never gave such large answer to any prayers as to those we have made for the opportunity to give the gospel to the Christless nations. How shall we answer God if we fail to do what we asked Him to give us opportunity to do? If by foreign missions we mean giving the gospel to the heathen, we have them; if we mean giving the gospel to the Romanists, we have them; if to sinners or lost men of any race or class, we have

them. We have sent away the men and women who especially feel the need of the foreigners and have a passion for their souls. If we who have not gone do not save these foreigners in our midst they must be lost regardless of any success which may attend the foreign missionary across the seas. Here, at least, are a goodly number of the distant nations whom the foreign missionary will never win to Christ. These foreigners certainly become the home missionary responsibility.

Shall the coming of the foreigner to a Christian land be his loss, prove his ruin? Can we say that God's call was any louder to the foreign missionary to go to China, Africa, India, Italy or Mexico than to the home missionary to go to the Chinaman, the African, the Indian, the Italian or the Mexican? Indeed, who will deny that we have a double missionary call; a call of these people from many nations to come to this land of gospel light and a call to us to lead them to Christ now that they are here? Does any one doubt that it was by divine providence that foreigners were in Jerusalem at Pentecost and that the apostles were called to preach the gospel to " dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, in Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, Jews and

proselytes, Cretans and Arabians"? These were in Jerusalem and the apostles freshly anointed by the Spirit called them to repentance. What is there in their example for us?

Let us look calmly into the face of this responsibility. These people are here, they throng us, we cannot evade them and we dare not try to shift the responsibility for their souls. They are as sheep without a shepherd. They are in every city and wellnigh every neighborhood. In some communities they constitute the majority of the citizenship. Many are here and many more are coming. Gradually some of the European peoples are transferring the balance of their power to America. We are told that a majority of the Swedes have come. Lacking one million, America has received as many Irishmen as are left in the Emerald Isle. It is a question as to whether Boston or New York is the Irish city of the world. The Irish race wields more political influence from New York than in all the world besides. America is to-day the Jew's promised land, if he has yet found one since he rejected Jesus; and Manhattan Island is the Jewish metropolis of the world. While there are more Jews in Russia and Austria-Hungary than there are in America, America leads all the other countries in the world in Jewish population and gives the race such liberty as

is not accorded it in all the world beside. Mr. McLanahan tells us that when an Italian Premier visited a town in Southern Italy he was introduced in the name of eight thousand citizens, three thousand of whom had gone to America and the rest were preparing to follow. More Italians than peoples of any other nation are coming year by year. Mr. Arthur H. Warren says, "While on a visit to Pienna dei Greci, an Albanian settlement on the mountains twelve miles out of Palermo, I asked what the leading industries were. 'Agriculture and immigration to America,' was the reply." *

These representatives of foreign nations give us our very best missionary opportunity for work with respective nationalities. The great missionary opportunity with the Jew is not in Palestine nor Russia, but in America. And so it is with the Italian and the rest. Here in our own tongue, in most cases; here where no expense of ocean travel is necessary; where little extra money need be spent on houses of worship for the foreigners if only the Spirit of Christ shall rule in the houses which we build for ourselves; here where we are host and they are guest; we are many and they are few; we have friends and they are lonely and need friends and will appreciate friendship;

* *National Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XX, p. 1063, 1909.

here we can get at the heart of a Chinaman or Italian as we will not, without much waiting and dodging the priests, get at him in China or Italy. Here at home we have our greatest foreign missionary opportunity. "It has been forever established that foreigners are as convertible as our own people; that in many instances their faith is more pure and evangelical than the American type; that their lives are transformed by its power to an extent that sometimes puts the American Christian to shame; that their children are easily gathered into Sunday schools, their young people into Endeavor societies, and their men and women into prayer-meetings, where in many different tongues they yet speak and pray in the language of Canaan. The immigration problem is not the same menace that it was. A mighty solvent has been found." *

Among these hardy and adventurous pioneers are some rare specimens for us to make captive in the bonds of love. Think of the blessing to this nation and to the world of Jacob Riis, Edward Steiner, and many other foreigners who have been thoroughly Americanized by being completely Christianized. What a blessing Pulitzer, the New York millionaire-editor, might have been in deepening the

* Mr. Ives, quoted by Dr. Grose in *Aliens or Americans?*, p. 294.

religious life of our nation and commending Christianity to the world if only some Christian worker had found him while he slept on the bench in the park that first night after he landed in the New World, a hungry, tired, lonely boy!

Not all those who are coming are low or even middle-class foreigners. An increasing number of foreign investors and students come to America. Conforming to the agreement made with the United States when one-half the indemnity due us for Boxer outrages was remitted, China is sending, and will for twenty-nine years send, fifty students a year to America to be educated, each to remain at least seven years. What an opportunity is given us in these young men to get ready for enlarged foreign mission work abroad by doing work for the foreigners at home! "When American Protestantism sees in immigration a divine mission, none will discover in it a human menace." *

V

In the immigrants and the emigrants, American Christians are given their greatest opportunity to preach the gospel to foreign peoples. By doing our duty to the foreigners whom God is sending to us

* *Aliens or Americans?*, by Howard B. Grose, p. 270.

and who in great numbers presently will be going back to their fatherland we can do more to evangelize the world than we can through those whom we are sending to the foreigners, however many and however consecrated these last may be. And we can also double the effectiveness of the foreign missionary. Our work for the Chinaman and the Italian in America will make easy work for the missionary in China and Italy. If we treat these who come among us as our neighbors and speak to them in terms of Christian love their countrymen will hear our missionaries in Canton and Hongkong, in Rome and Florence gladly and with a new open-mindedness. By Christian consideration for these foreigners at our doors we will double the evangelizing power of our foreign missionaries and foreign mission offerings to the ends of the earth.

Immigrant foreigners in America are in touch with the remotest corners of the world and through them we may touch the uttermost parts. Many of these foreigners who are with us to-day will go back home to-morrow. Forty per cent. of the millions who come return to their native lands; some to invest their wealth and re-establish their homes, some to visit, and some to bring their loved ones, but all to report that which most impresses them in the civilization, the life and character of American

people. The following are the immigrant and emigrant figures respectively for the past ten years:

Date.	Immigrants.*	Emigrants.*
1901	487,918	306,724
1902	648,743	326,760
1903	857,046	375,261
1904	812,870	508,204
1905	1,076,499	536,204
1906	1,100,735	496,737
1907	1,285,349	569,882
1908	782,870	874,686
1909	751,786	586,452
1910	1,041,570	723,018
Total for ten years	7,762,317	5,303,928

These lines of humanity from the ends of the earth converging here, and here diverging to the ends of the earth again, are so because God wills that the lines of salvation shall go into all the world. During the past twenty-five years these emigrant foreigners have carried America's good name and bad name into the backwoods of European and Asiatic civilizations. Professor Steiner assures us that until a quarter of a century ago little was known of America in remote and slow-moving districts of Southern and Southeastern Europe, but since that time the news of our wealth and opportunities has penetrated everywhere. Dr. Howard B. Grose

* Including all passengers departing from and arriving at our seaports.

quotes Mr. Watchorn, at that time commissioner for the port of New York: "If a steel mill were to start in the Mississippi swamp, paying two dollars per day the news would hum in foreign lands in a month and that swamp would become a beehive of humanity and industry in an incredibly short space of time." Mr. Edward Steiner, who has trailed and companioned the immigrant and emigrant into all the nooks and corners, tells us in his fascinating way how American fashions and fads as well as some of our better ideals are veritably flaunted in the face of backwoods Europeans by these emigrant foreigners who have taken back home with them that which came closest to their lives and most impressed them while among us.

What an opportunity is thus afforded us for distributing the leaven of the gospel among the nations. We need only to make our religion the most positive and impressive thing about us in order to have the foreigners advertise it when they return to their homelands. Lead these immigrants to Christ and they could not keep the secret. Some remember how about one-third of a century ago the tidings came to America from India and flew across this continent and was reported and repeated in every community, telling us that twenty-two thousand converts had been baptized by a Baptist mis-

sionary in a day. Foreign mission stock took an immediate rise in our home churches. In fervent oratory and with glowing accounts of this incident preachers heightened the effect of their sermons, editors, both Christian and secular, featured their papers with it, Christian liberality was stimulated and missionary volunteers were secured on the inspiration of these tidings. A great religious work among the foreigners in our own land would have a similar but far more astonishing effect in foreign lands. For every American missionary we have on the foreign field who reports to us we have among us a thousand foreigners to report to their people on the foreign field a great religious revival among them here. Italians, Scandinavians, Chinese, Germans and Mexicans would start the sensation in their native lands by letter and newspaper, and returning pilgrims would confirm the reports, testify to our zeal and brotherliness and exemplify the gospel which had saved them.

Foreigners in America keep in close touch with their fatherlands. The United States mails are busy keeping up communications. Literal tons of letters and literature pass from America to Europe and from America to China month by month. Newspapers and magazines, some in foreign languages and some in English, are sent to relatives at home

and serve as text-books in American manners and English speech for prospective comers. The United States mail-pouch ought to be made a great foreign missionary agency, and it will become such if we secure the conversion of these foreigners among us.

These immigrants are sending American money to relieve the poverty of their kinsmen, to pay their taxes in the homeland and meet the exorbitant levies for the support of European arms, to pay the passage of kinsmen and friends to America and, in many cases, to buy, while they are cheap, homes in their native lands to which they hope to return as soon as they can accumulate a competency in America. Thirty per cent. of our immigrants make enough money in America to set them up in comfortable living at home. American money buys nearly one-half of all the tickets upon which foreign immigrants come to America, and it is being distributed in all directions. The ends of the earth know of our gold if not of our God and our gospel. We have advertised our resources better than we have advertised our religion. The immigration commission, with a force numbering three hundred and fifty, after laboring three years, announces, among other things, that these foreigners are sending out of our country annually "some $300,000,000,

part of it to bring over members of their families, but a large part also for investment abroad whither the immigrant himself expects soon to go." * Of the Irishmen, Mr. W. T. Stead says: "It is to England that their money goes in rent and taxes. It is from the United States that this money comes in Pactolean flood of remittances through the post." † But it is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain even approximately the amount of American money which the millions of our foreign population are sending out of our country annually. Through the most generous courtesy of the Post Office Department, I am able to give the accompanying table, which shows the amounts sent for ten years by post office money orders alone to the countries enumerated:

The accompanying table is thoroughly sensational. In its tamest aspect it shows that a close material connection is kept up year by year with the world outside of America. If the men who write these letters and send this money were taught that which is more precious than gold they would transmit the precious coin to their kindred and friends as they now send American money.

While American Christians are striving, though not striving as they ought, to supply our foreign

* *The Americanization of the World*, p. 40.
† *World's Work*, May, 1911.

	1901	1902	1903
Austria	$1,325,808.05	1,851,335.71	2,677,1
Bahamas	2,957.29	3,795.03	3,4
Barbados	--------	--------	---
Belgium	194,912.39	223,754.53	306,8
British Guiana	2,823.14	3,504.71	5,8
Canada	1,909,505.12	2,867,013.99	3,783,9
Cape Colony	8,615.52	7,505.03	14,7
Chili	1,151.87	2,453.11	2,6
Commonwealth of Australia	--------	--------	---
Costa Rica	--------	--------	---
Cuba	161,916.08	226,389.54	233,1
Denmark	230,569.13	276,015.93	305,6
Egypt	4,607.61	7,920.76	10,0
France	545,790.29	620,136.28	737,8
Germany	2,650,740.68	2,887,442.01	3,251,8
Great Britain	5,453,344.34	5,898,185.45	6,382,2
Greece	----------	1,846,10	28,6
Grenada	----------	--------	---
Hongkong	8,476.32	11,933.44	13,0
Hungary	982,590.34	1,685,769.42	2,728,3
Italy	1,513,861.19	2,462,500.65	5,078,5
Jamica	9,984.14	9,522.02	12,1
Japan	737,394.10	1,208,440.75	1,579,5
Liberia	----------	----------	------
Luxemburg	19,441.02	17,072.62	26,6
Mexico	74,454.09	108,427.54	180,3
Netherlands	69,344.87	77,110.04	89,6
Newfoundland	59,591.52	71,923.00	87,4
New South Wales	22,522.54	25,972.39	28,0
New Zealand	25,319.27	29,663.67	36,3
Norway	701,739.92	840,271.16	1,154,0
Peru	----------	----------	------
Philippines	----------	340,624.70	136,4
Portugal	8,301.62	11,841.88	33,1
Queensland	5,600.06	5,674.60	8,6
Russia	1,100,113.11	1,884,643.39	2,775,5
St. Vincent	----------	----------	------
South Australia	2,464.86	3,205.56	4,0
Sweden	1,728,943.70	1,973,667.08	2,533,7
Switzerland	404,260.57	478,427.45	558,9
Tasmania	1,871.82	2,635.57	2,9
Transvaal	--------	--------	---
Trinidad	3,337.54	3,665.12	4,9
Victoria	17,951.77	20,600.91	22,2
Various Aggregated Minor Countries	24,432.71	47,274.80	59,4
Aggregate Totals	$19,923,738.59	26,221,788.53	31,119,8
Grand Total			

ABLE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

1907	1908	1909	1910
8,635.36	7,805,631.61	6,653,579.11	9,470,608.47
5,752.44	8,189.67	6,522.88	6,530.73
0,317.62	355,156.69	371,060.35	420,716.88
1,243.75	789,248.59	644,506.00	812,745.54
5,166.74	16,186.47	17,759.91	17,758.49
8,940.13	6,077,710.40	5,891,815.65	6,424,504.49
1,000.16	22,261.09	21,844.31	24,409.88
8,388.33	7,643.10	7,014.94	6,444.89
--------	--------	121,313.95	134,685.21
1,820.33	1,819.20	2,658.06	1,601.21
5,741.84	337,691.04	392,300.34	347,798.10
6,440.42	609,555.21	544,117.80	619,424.40
1,017.53	24,129.97	25,045.24	31,588.63
5,375.93	1,514,453.33	1,255,851.08	1,374,281.78
4,523.24	4,344,768.50	4,136,320.93	4,528,402.32
2,028.54	12,411,387.79	11,517,563.67	13,205,739.79
9,843.53	2,358,010.28	2,219,297.09	3,170,554.69
4,178.21	39,311.25	34,034.44	31,349.27
9,879.60	17,554.61	19,160.37	26,537.39
5,356.30	8,010,017.87	6,609,798.84	10,148,612.55
6,519.61	21,292,938.57	16,575,080.39	23,060,612.98
3,276.84	201,288.00	249,382.01	273,420.93
6,012.74	4,636,994.01	4,120,207.17	5,024,230.87
1,579.18	2,617.11	1,204.80	2,262.22
9,605.86	43,605.42	37,270.77	41,000.38
5,260.89	1,636,109.68	1,315,113.78	2,791,821.56
9,799.32	280,338.28	254,478.96	317,403.64
6,216.88	110,276.10	97,164.03	138,542.34
9,284.14	75,105.48	---------	---------
2,205.47	45,713.73	41,873.55	47,643.51
8,028.13	3,021,042.40	2,440,010.78	2,897,512.51
5,706.65	6,945.72	9,290.51	9,321.57
8,542.03	185,068.16	184,856.09	183,578.54
1,056.54	25,831.77	16,505.66	15,436.68
4,261.37	12,665.88	---------	---------
0,853.69	7,898,483.94	6,452,246.17	8,897,387.97
8,466.90	14,486.15	14,610.37	17,745.33
5,951.30	6,156.35	---------	---------
2,411.45	4,014,270.28	3,337,128.87	3,907,591.94
4,887.42	852,327.41	784,899.36	867,522.14
3,948.66	5,033.14	---------	---------
8,706.30	22,378.12	18,182.65	22,794.08
1,959.99	12,433.02	30,091.16	43,551.97
0,795.59	42,318.75	---------	---------
9,408.66	129,200.61	151,467.00	154,452.82
8,125.50	87,082,480.34	73,705,109.38	73,223,238.07

---------- $543,219,451.42

boards with men and money for the foreign fields, even those among us who give most to this enterprise would have to confess that they have neglected this greatest foreign missionary opportunity. If we led to Jesus one in ten, not of our immigrant but of our emigrant foreigners, we would multiply our forces and effectiveness on the foreign field tenfold the first year of the experiment.

These emigrants would give such report of us and their testimony would be considered so impartial and would, therefore, be so convincing that a revolution would be wrought immediately in foreign evangelization. These home-goers would go without expense to us, with a ready facility in the use of native tongues and a knowledge of local customs and would receive an open hospitality and be admitted to such intimate terms as a native American can never know; and they would go with the compulsion not only of Christians but with patriotic and paternal affection to bear tidings of salvation. They would burn with missionary zeal for their brethren, their kinsmen according to the flesh.

But there is another class of travellers who are American missionaries of light or darkness: the American tourists. These preach a convincing gospel. They represent us—too often misrepresent Christianity. If these annual globe-trotters could

be made to exemplify, if not to preach, our holy religion they would popularize foreign missions in every land of the globe. What the world sees these well-fed tourists to be, that it concludes we are. We judge China by the Chinamen we see, Italy by the Italians we see, except some neighbor who has been to China or Italy modify our opinion by what he has seen in these faraway lands. The Chinese and Italians are under the same mental law. They judge all Americans by the Americans they see, changing their opinion in the light of reports made by their neighbors who have been to America.

An Americanized and Christianized foreigner says, "I think that the peril lies more in the first cabin than in the steerage; more in the American Colonies in Monte Carlo and Nice than in the Italian Colonies in New York and Chicago." * These tourists and American sojourners abroad with their money, their haughtiness, and often their unbridled godlessness before the eyes of the unsaved of foreign lands, do much to defeat the purposes of sacrificial giving and sacrificial service on behalf of foreign missions.

Every touch of America with the nations of the earth ought to be missionary. American men,

* *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, by Edward A. Steiner, p. 14.

money and materials sent abroad ought to go sanctified to the nation's universal mission. The quality of American goods ought to witness to the superiority of American religion. It is a matter for congratulation that the superior quality of certain American manufactured articles is being recognized in all the markets of the world. In a recent *North American Review,* Mr. Edmund Dunning informs us that nearly all classes of American machinery and every character of office appliances and office furniture is preferred to all others and sells for twenty to forty per cent. higher than that which is put in competition with it in foreign markets.

VI

The discussion has now progressed to the point where the value and importance to the nation not only of the private religious life of its citizens, and those local agencies which seek his good, such as the church and Sunday school, but the value and importance also of home missions ought to be obvious. The historic position of evangelical religion in the nation, the perils and national responsibilities and tasks all give emphasis to the home missionary appeal. No thoughtful or patriotic statesman can fail to feel some sense of moral response to this appeal. The home mission organizations of the evangelical

denominations of America seek a religious life co-extensive with the nation. All religious work contributes to this end, but home missions designate the co-operative nation-wide work of those who believe in Christianizing the nation as well as the individual. It is the duty of every American Christian to relate himself to the work of saving the nation.

In the face of this paramount duty it should be evident that a comprehensive home missionary organization is necessary. The gigantic enterprise of subduing the continent to Christ and thereby girdling the globe with the sweet influences of Christ's religion cannot be accomplished by a few individuals nor by the use of a meagre method. The writer does not mean to suggest anything on the subject of interdenominational comity or union. These are matters outside his present purpose. He simply means to say that in order to handle a task of such magnitude as this of evangelizing a whole nation, personal and local church work, while fundamental, must be supplemented and its effectiveness multiplied by larger co-operation. The Baptist denomination, for instance, as well as individuals and churches in it, must be engaged upon the task of saving the nation. And we may say in passing, that the work of securing the co-operation of the forces in the denomination is a more immediate one than

that of interdenominational federation. The people who are already one in faith ought to be one in preaching and propagating that faith. With one-half our churches and three-fourths our church members doing nothing in a co-operative way toward bringing America to Christ, the time is not ripe, if other matters were out of the way, to put chief stress on interdenominational union. A union of recalcitrants would but magnify one of the chief evils which to-day afflict Christianity on the home-field. The co-operation of all our forces within the denomination should be sought at once. Our task is to save a nation and our plans for realizing this must correspond in breadth to the magnitude of the enterprise.

Home missions provide for the combined and concentrated energy of the denomination upon the project of national evangelization. Home missions fill a distinct place in the denominational organization and the home mission board discharges a unique function. It is the denominational equalizer. It equalizes the missionary responsibility and distributes the denominational power. In some parts of the field the Christian forces are strong and the people are supplied with religious privileges, in others there are few Christians with but few religious advantages and disproportionate burdens.

Home missions provide for equalizing the responsibility and the burden. The few and the poor Christians who are providentially surrounded by a preponderating religious destitution have no larger responsibility for the Kingdom of God than have the many and the wealthy who under Providence live in communities where Christian influences prevail. It is not the ethics of the kingdom that some be eased and others burdened. Home missions provide a way by which the abundance of one Christian or Christian community may supply another's lack, "that there may be equality." * The provision is essential to the spirit of brotherhood in the kingdom of Christ as well as to the effectual evangelization of the whole nation.

Home mission organization is not only a provision for equalizing the burdens of American evangelization, but for the distribution of our missionary forces over the field in order to press the work to every man's door and concentrate upon difficult situations in times of emergency. Without such organization we should have a comparative surplus of preachers and workers at some points and a dearth of them at others. With a general fund in the hands of a general agency charged with special care of the whole field, points of destitution and places of

* 2 Corinthians 8: 13-14.

strategic importance in peculiar peril can be reinforced quickly and at the expense of the general body.

There is nothing pertaining to the tactics of the missionary campaign more vital to success than this arrangement for the mobilization of necessary forces in order to save an imperilled situation. The home mission agency is the only piece of denominational machinery that enables us to do this. Churches, if they be strong, can do it for their respective communities; district bodies can do it for their limited territory; state organizations can, in some states, if not adequately, relatively care for the needy places; but we have set us the task of saving, not a community or a state, but the nation, and in some states the forces are small and the needs are great. Local forces, especially in those states where there are large cities or those which contain many foreigners and those that constitute our frontier, cannot meet the demands of the situation. In such cases the need can be met only by the general home mission agency and the co-operation of the whole denomination.

Perhaps the most important thing immediately affecting the evangelization of America is this matter of a wise and tactful co-ordination of respective denominational forces and a wise position-

ing of these forces by the general agencies for nation-conquest. The wisdom of military statesmen is needed to give direction to this national enterprise. The proper distribution of our respective regiments of soul-winners is essential to the success of the campaign. If we position the forces so as to overlap at some points and leave unguarded gaps at other points our folly will prove disastrous and our false tactics cost us victory.

Here again, we are not speaking of the broader aspect of interdenominational life. We refer to the unnecessary and unwise distribution of men and the duplication of effort by home mission boards of the respective denominations. Indeed, it is inappropriate that we talk much about interdenominational comity until we begin to practise an intra-denominational comity which at present does not characterize any of the evangelical denominations of America. For instance, the thirteen states which are roughly classed as Southern, while far from being evangelized, are far more thoroughly evangelized than the rest of the country. And yet most of the evangelical denominations in the South are contenting themselves with a home mission responsibility which affects these states only, while leaving three-fourths of the home mission task to their brethren of the North.

This inequality of responsibility is further increased by the fact that while the Southern home mission boards are not lending a hand to the larger home mission work among the millions of foreigners and great cities of the North, our Northern brethren are overlapping the Southern brethren on their Southern field. The result is that the greater part of the home mission work done in America is done in the very section of our country where the largest per cent. of the population are members of evangelical churches, while in the Northeast and Northwest, compared with the forces which are against them, evangelical Christians are weak and on a constantly declining scale, while Romanism, Eddyism and many other cults, to say nothing of the devastations of sin and the octopus of materialism, are waxing stronger and more defiant.

Certainly Christian men of the South are grateful for all the help their brethren have given them to make their land Christian. Much of this help was given in a time of our need and helplessness and was a tribute to the wisdom of home mission organization, which provides for the care of a situation in an emergency. But conditions have changed. The South has grown rich, and nowhere else in America does so large a proportion of the population embrace the evangelical gospel, profess the evan-

gelical experience and hold membership in evangelical churches. The time has come, therefore, when the Christian denominations of the South should share with their brethren of the North the heavier responsibilities of the home mission campaign, and by doing so help to make sure the more speedy and thorough evangelization of the nation.

America for Christ is our home mission motto, and the men honored with leadership in such a cause should be the leading statesmen in the Kingdom of Christ; for no other generals ever led forces to the settlement of such an issue. The contest is for America, and the decision will determine the future of evangelical religion, political democracy and the destiny of the world.

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